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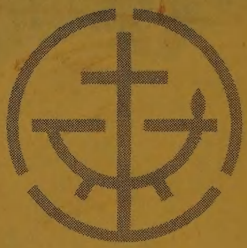

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THE CHRIST

AND

THE FATHERS:

OR

THE REFORMERS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

BEING A

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND OPINION
DERIVED FROM THEIR LIVES AND LETTERS AS WELL AS
FROM THE LATIN AND GREEK FATHERS OF
THE EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPIRES
UNTIL THE NICENE COUNCIL,

WITH A BRIEF SKETCH OF

THE CONTINUATION OF CHRISTIANITY
UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY

IN ACCORDANCE WITH

THE COMPARATIVE METHOD OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE.

BY A HISTORICAL SCIENTIST.

'She (Wisdom) is the breath of the power of God, and the image of goodness; and, being but one, she can do all things; and, remaining in herself, she maketh all things new; and in all ages, entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God, and prophets.'—
THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE
HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON
AND FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH
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PREFACE.

I HAVE read the leading Lives of Christ, Histories of the Jews and Christianity, and the works on Biblical criticism which have appeared during the course of the last half century, with various degrees of satisfaction; but I am fully convinced that the clerical authors, at least, have misled their readers by the adoption of the systematic and dogmatic nomenclature of the old theology. At any rate, I have not yet met with any work which traces the historical development of the Jewish nation and religion during the successive periods of its social life; and secondly, of its successor, the Christian religion, in the various centres of religious distribution in the Roman Empire, in strict continuity, until the Nicene Council and the foundation of the first Christian State and Church under Constantine the Great.

Hence the present work has followed the Comparative Method of Historical Science, and attempted to point out the constituents borrowed by the Jews from the surrounding nations in the composition of their religion and ritual; and secondly, the actual nature of the Reformation of the Roman Empire under Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, and Paul, the Roman reformer, as well as

the Roman philosophers included by the "Fathers," who tested the true religion by a belief in "the greatest and best of Gods," human goodness, and enlightenment, and not by faith in a mere name and "Divine conception," as modern ecclesiastics do; and third, the successive phenomena and features of the Galilean, Jewish, Alexandrian, Oriental, and Roman Christianity, moulded by the Fathers in the first Creed of the Nicene Council, which formed the basis of the European and British Creeds of Christendom.

Protesting as I do, in common with the professional and literary classes of the age, against the adoption of the technical and antiquated style of mediæval theology, I have carefully stripped the Hebrew, Greek, and dogmatic terms of their mummied garb, and restored them to their original appearance and "senses" in the usage of every-day life.

Very little attention has been paid to the "signs and wonders" related in the lives and letters of the Christian reformers, (1) because the primitive Nazarites, Galileans or Ebionites, who believed the Prophet to be "a plain and common man," only used the biography of Matthew without any genealogy or miraculous birth; (2) because the copies of the Sacred Scriptures were "corrected" and "corrupted" by various Christian sects for the purpose of adapting them to their peculiar theological systems; (3) because the letters of James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, as well as the "Revelation" were "disputed" in the days of Eusebius, the first ecclesiastical historian; and the "Revelation" was not admitted into the sacred collection until

the Council of Hippo, A.D. 390; (4) because the several forged "additions," such as the "Three Witnesses" and "The Mystery of Godliness," have been lately rejected in the Revised Translation; and lastly, because a considerable number still remain which ought to share the same fate. But the clergy are held in bondage by the ancient Creeds, and are deterred from all honest criticism by the charge of unsettling the faith of the people brought against Robertson Smith, whose ripe scholarship has been fully appreciated by the patrons of his Cambridge professorship.

Several cautious and guarded concessions have been made by Bishop Temple in his Bampton Lectures on the "Relations between Religion and Science" on this very head, *e.g.* "The supernatural in the form of miracles can never be the highest kind of evidence, can never stand alone; but it seems to have been needed for their first reception." But the very admissions which he makes regarding the miracles of the Old Testament, viz. "The times are remote, the date and authorship of the Books not established with certainty; the mixture of poetry with history no longer capable of any sure separation into parts," are equally applicable to the miracles of the New Testament, which are said to have occurred eighteen centuries ago. At the same time, I trust the "larger hope," that as the belief of Christians "rests mainly on the voice within ourselves," according to him, the publication of the Bishop's work will date "the beginning of the end" in the history of the English Church, coeval with the commencement of the new British Constitution.

Still later is *Christ and Christianity*, by the Rev. H. R. Haweis, M.A., the popular preacher of London, to be followed by four volumes carrying forward the development of Christianity to Constantine the Great, and closing with the "Light of the Nations," containing "a bird's-eye view of the religions of the world," for the purpose of proving that "God has never left himself without a witness in the heart of man, nor refused to impart a knowledge of himself to the world, just whenever and wherever, and in whatsoever degree the world has been able to entertain it."

I, for one, rejoice that the successor of Stanley, our modern Lactantius, has boldly ventured in the footsteps of Strauss, Baur, Renan, and Matthew Arnold, adopted the Critical and Comparative Method of Historical Science, and provided the Anglican Churchmen with the pure and unadulterated religion of "the love of God and the love of man," "all that is vital for us to know about Christianity,"—the very theodicy of Augustine and the Fathers, which "justifies the ways of God to man."

I am fully aware that no systematic study of Historical Science or the physiology of the social organism has been introduced into our common schools, high schools, or Universities; but as "the youngest of the sciences" has made considerable progress in modern literature, I trust its application to the illustration of Jewish and Christian history will easily be rendered intelligible by the use of the *Chronological Chart*, p. xvii.

The first novelty which will strike the student is the discovery of the germs of the New Religion which passed

under the name of Christianity in the works of the Hebrew prophets; but the fact is fully recognised by the Christian reformers of ancient Judaism themselves, who asserted "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of the prophets."

The second, I hope, will be the succinct and continuous account of the patriotic longings of the Jewish people for National Independence, taken from the later prophets, the Apocrypha, and apocalyptic literature of the Book of Enoch, witnessed in such conquered nations as Ireland, Poland, Hungary, and Egypt in the present day; and designated in ecclesiastic realms "Messianic Prophecies," lately defended in the obsolete style in the Baird and Bampton Lectures.

The third is the greatest novelty of all—the restriction of the mission of Jesus, "the minister of the circumcision," to the Jews only, by Paul, while he declares himself to be the reformer of the Roman Empire (Rom. xv. 8, 16).

The fourth is the successive stages of Paul's opinions, from "the straitest sect of the Pharisees" to cosmopolitan Christianity, according to the programme and historic method of Archdeacon Farrar in *The Message of the Books.*

The fifth is the independent reformation of the Roman religion effected by the Roman poets and philosophers, from Cicero to Marcus Aurelius, which paved the way for Paul's universal Christianity.

The sixth is the clear evidence derived from the Ante-Nicene Fathers of the growth and development of the

Alexandrian theory of the "Word," "Wisdom," or "Logos," applied to Jesus, and resulting, in common with the Roman tendency to compare him with their own "Sons of God," in his substantial deification at the Nicene Council.

And lastly, the striking historical parallel which exists between the reformation of the Roman Empire and our own Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, ought to prepare the minds of all historical students for the early dissolution of the aged and antiquated religious institutions of ancient Europe and Britain.

Right sure I am that thousands of the enlightened and "beautiful souls" (*schöne Seele*), who place their confidence in the divine tendency which makes for righteousness in the "education of humanity," will meet with a glad surprise in finding themselves in communion with the "fathers of philosophy" and "rational theology," who renounced the hereditary faiths of time-worn antiquity, like their peers and predecessors in ancient Rome, as well as in the modern world during the last three centuries.

One thing I do anticipate from the clear exhibition of the development of religious opinion both in the Jewish and Christian nations, viz. that ecclesiastics will not be tolerated to ramble over the history of two religions—the one of which repeals the other—and crown their favourite dogmas with texts selected from religious teachers, at any point during four thousand years; for it is really unpardonable to misinterpret and misapply passages in the Jewish sacred books, pervaded with the unity of God, in favour of a Christian "Trinity" formulated at the

Nicene Council, A.D. 325, and not completed until the insertion of "*Filioque*" in A.D. 800.

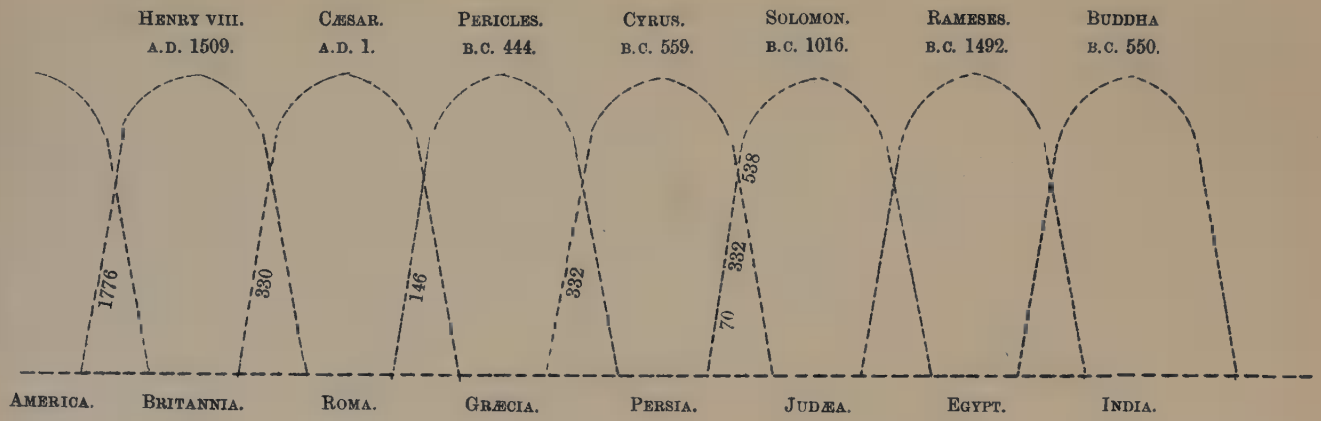
Moreover, I express the wishes of a large majority of minds animated by the "Spirit of the age" (*Zeit Geist*), and the desire of religious equality in common with the New World, that the "Grand Old Man" (as his constituents call him), the ruling spirit of British policy, the veritable "king of men," presiding over the "Palingenesia, or new birth of society," in our *New Era*, dated by Carlyle at A.D. 1792, may be continued amongst us, for the purpose of carrying to a successful issue those political measures which have raised him above the position of his great prototype and predecessor, Theodosius the Great, who effected the disestablishment and disendowment of the old faith of the Roman Empire, A.D. 380-390.

In conclusion, I now avail myself of the present opportunity of according my hearty thanks to all the "Leaders of Thought and Opinion" of past and present times, whose labours have enabled me to carry the present work into completion.

THE AUTHOR.

HINT TO STUDENTS.

This work will form a programme, at least, of the development of religious thought and opinion in Jewish and Christian nations (*Dogmen-Geschichte*).



This Chronological Chart illustrates the rise and culmination of the great Races and Religions which preceded and succeeded the Jews in the education of mankind, and the source of the Comparative Method of Historical Science.

INTRODUCTION.

THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

"WHAT is Christianity?" still forms the burning question of the age nearly nineteen centuries after its birth; and the answer varies in every region of Eastern and Western Christendom—in the Latin and the Greek Church, in Trinitarian and Unitarian Christianity, in the Old as well as in the New World. Witness the Lives of Christ—*Leben Jesu*, *Vie de Jésus*—the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, the *Three First Centuries of the Christian Era;* not to mention the ecclesiastical histories, creeds, confessions, catechisms, and commentaries peculiar to the endless varieties of Christian Churches planted in every quarter of the globe.

The Trinitarian carries us back to the foundation of his creed at the Nicene Council (A.D. 325), under the patronage of Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor of the first Christian empire; while the Unitarian traces his faith to the manger of Bethlehem—the birth of the Jewish Reformer (Heb.) Jehoshua, (Greek) Jesus, the Anointed (Maschach=Messiah) Deliverer.

At this point, A.D. 1, the further question meets us: What is primitive Christianity, or rather Galileanism—the "sect everywhere spoken against"—founded by the Jewish Reformer and his disciples, who were styled Christians (anointed) at Antioch after his martyrdom? And the necessity for revising the traditional replies gave

rise to the "Introductions to the Old and New Testament," Histories of Israel, and Hebrew Prophets, familiar to every student of theology. The net result of these learned inquiries carried on during the last century has been the inauguration of the historic method of investigation, and the submission of the "Sacred Books of the Jews" to the same canons of literary criticism as the "Sacred Books of the East."

What, then, is the nature of the historic method of inquiry which we propose to follow in attempting to give the Jewish Reformer his proper place in the religious development of Oriental races? Nothing more or less than the comparative method of historical science adopted by every school of modern criticism—the systematic analysis of the religions of all the successive races which have conducted the "Education of Humanity" (*Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts;* Lessing).

These races are the Hindu, Persian, Chaldee, Assyrian and Babylonian, Egyptian, Hebrew, Arabian, Hellenic, Latin, Teutonic, and Sclavonic. And their literature is more or less accessible to all the world since the translation of the "Sacred Books of the East," under the editorship of Max Müller. China we exclude in this place, because Confucianism evidently forms the indigenous product of an independent centre of civilisation. One most important step in these inquiries was the foundation of the Science of Language by Bopp, Grimm, Müller, Sayce, etc.; and the discovery of the common origin of all the languages of the Indo-European races in the Sanskrit. The Science of Religion, in the hands of Burnouf and Müller followed in its wake, and the Hibbert Lecture has largely contributed to its further exposition.

Given, then, the sacred literature of the Jews, the real

problem at issue assumes the modern form, What is the historical genesis, structure, and development—(1) of the Jewish, and (2) of the Christian religion? And the student is started at once in pursuit of Abraham, the "Father of the Faithful," from "Ur of the Chaldees," as well as of Moses, "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." What "divine conception" and rites were brought by Abraham into Egypt? What is the nature of the divine worship and duty carried out of Egypt into Palestine? Can we trace the religious elements borrowed from their Babylonian, Persian, Hellenic, and Roman masters and conquerors? and eliminate the religious dogma and practice of the primitive Christian reformers of ancient Mosaism and antiquated Judaism in the Augustan age of the Roman Empire? Such is the series of questions absolutely necessary to be answered in the present state of historical criticism, in order to satisfy the demands of scientific inquiry.

Let us now refer to the Chronological Chart drawn up for the purpose of illustrating the course of religious development; and although the Science of Sociology is still in its infancy, the genesis, structure, and development of social bodies have been investigated by the students of the physiology of the social organism, and determined by the laws of universal organisation. The life and history of Rome was selected by Vico, the founder of Historical Science, as the type of all social evolution; and all that is meant by the selection is that the historical development of all social organisms must present a greater or lesser degree of conformity to the political type. The only nations whose genesis can be traced with historical exactness are the Christian and Moslem communities of modern Europe, for the origin

of all Oriental races is veiled by the mists of ages and hoary antiquity. Ancient temples, tombs, pyramids, mummies, pillars, slabs, bricks, and papyri are extant in mouldering ruins and endless fragments; and social resurrections and restorations are appearing along with their approximate dates and data. The true source of all the languages and religions of the Indo-European races has been found in India (Max Müller's *Sanskrit Literature*); and strata on strata lie buried beneath the surface of modern culture and civilisation. Buddhism sprang from the old Brahman stock, and spread over Thibet, Tartary, Burmah, and the Chinese Empire (B.C. 500). Zoroastrianism started into existence at the same period, and carried its conquests as far as Babylonia, Asia Minor, Judæa, and Egypt. The very cuneiform inscriptions on the brick libraries of Babylon and Nineveh have been dug from the ruins of Nimroud, and revealed the story of the predecessors of the Hebrew "Father of the Faithful." The mysterious veil of Isis still rests on the primeval pyramids and dynasties of ancient Egypt; but the sacred mysteries and ritual of the gods have been wrested from the mummies and tombs of the Pharaohs.

The Temple of Solomon was founded in the tenth century B.C.; and Hebrew literature carries us back to the birth of Mosaism in Egypt, four centuries anterior to that era. The national existence of the Hebrew people ended at the Babylonian conquest (B.C. 588); and the land of Judæa successively formed only a single province of the Persian until B.C. 332; of the Macedonian until B.C. 70; and lastly of the Roman Empire until the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70.

Hellenic culture culminated in the age of Pericles

(B.C. 444), and terminated at the Roman conquest (B.C 146). The Augustan age of Roman civilisation synchronises with the commencement of the Christian era (A.D. 1); while the actual foundation of the first Christian Empire was laid by Constantine the Great in Roma-Nova—Constantinople (A.D. 330), contemporaneous with the formulation of the Christian creed at the Nicene Council (A.D. 325); and the dictum of Niebuhr sums up the history of the long series of races and religions which preceded the Christian era: "The history of all nations of the ancient world ends in that of Rome, and that of all modern nations has grown out of that of Rome."

The filiation of Buddhism and Zoroastrianism or Parsism from ancient Brahmanism may be held as proved; and Hebraism was brought into close contact both with the Babylonian and Persian until B.C. 332. Mosaism expressly claims its "Exodus" from Egypt, and admittedly drew many of its religious elements from the land of the Nile. The Septuagint translation of the Hebrew sacred books, as well as the Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, etc., betray the influence of Hellenic culture; and a large class of apocalyptic, sibylline, and mystical books sprang up in various literary centres of the Roman Empire anterior to the Christian era. No doubt whatever exists regarding the offspring of Christianity from the bosom of the Roman Empire. Hence the formulation of the social law of the birth of a New Religion at the attainment of national majority (*Philosophie der Geschichte*, von Ernst von Lasaulx).

All these successive and hereditary Asiatic religions formed the social "environment" of the genesis, structure, and development of primitive Mosaism and later Judaism and Christianism, and have been more or less subjected

to critical analysis by philologists and theologians during the last century. Hence the preliminary historical question arises, Can we trace the religious sentiments and practice assimilated by the Jews during the successive phases of national development from their Asiatic environment ?

The reply to this question limits our attention to the "History of Israel" only—1st, in the Tribal; 2d, in the Monarchical; and 3d, in the Provincial Period.

B.C. 1500 Tribal. B.C. 1100 Monarchical. B.C. 588 Provincial. A.D. 70.

1. *The Tribal Period* (B.C. 1500-1100).—The striking historical parallel which exists between the Saxon conquest of England (A.D. 459), as well as of the New World (from A.D. 1492 to 1886), and the Hebrew conquest of Palestine recorded in Joshua, the Domesday Book of the history of Israel, has been specially noted by Freeman, in his *Addresses to American Audiences.* The Twelve Tribes of Israel found their counterpart in the Saxon Heptarchy. Monarchy succeeds in both for several centuries; and rival religions generate social dissensions, and terminate in the dissolution of the national faith.

The symbolical style of the narrative, the turning of the Sun, the Supreme God, into darkness, the sacred Nile into blood, and the swallowing of the image of the sacred bull (*Apis*) ground to powder, produces the conviction that Moses, the Hebrew Reformer, rejected the national faith of Polytheism and adopted the monarchic Monotheism, inscribed, according to Herodotus, on the façade of the Egyptian temple—"I am he that was and is to be, and no man has lifted my veil." Moses assuredly assumed the *rôle* of the "Veiled Prophet," and no mortal can see Jahveh and live (Jahveh=Being or Life). One

notice, moreover, has been found on a temple of an Egyptian king, who introduced the disc worship of the Supreme Deity, and rejected all others.

The time-worn controversy regarding the Hebrew cosmogony standing at the commencement of Genesis has now been set at rest by the discovery of the Chaldee account of the Creation, deciphered by George Smith, and the translation of the *Bundahis*, one of the Persian sacred books. Accordingly, the Mosaic account of creation forms only an adaptation derived from the cosmogonies of their national predecessors belonging to the Shemitic races. The creation of the universe took place in six periods or Gahanbars, during the course of 365 days, in the Persian sacred books: and the revolt of Ahriman, the Evil Spirit, against Ahura-Mazda, the Wise Spirit, did not occur until the end of 3000 years. "Light," which is said to have been created on the first day in Genesis, prior to the sun, is specially referred to in the *Bundahis*. "Ahura-Mazda produced light between the sky and the earth, the constellations, stars, and those also not of the constellations, then the moon, and afterwards the sun"—a positive contradiction of the scientific discoveries of modern times. The gods Lahmu and Lahamu of the Chaldee account are male and female personifications of motion and production, like the moving "wind" (*ruach*), or Spirit, of Genesis. Sar and Kisar represent the upper and lower "firmament," through whose "windows" the flood was poured down. And although the complete twelve tablets of the Chaldee account have not been discovered, the creation of the heavenly bodies and terrestrial animals corresponds to the statements of Genesis. Moreover, a sacred tree, accompanied by a serpent, is represented on the cylinders, which have lain in their graves

until their present resurrection for the enlightenment of our own age.

The extreme simplicity of the reformed religion and ritual at the Exodus is evident; for it consisted merely of an ark common to the Egyptian gods (Wilkinson) containing two tables of the law, surrounded by a tent, within whose precincts stood the table of shewbread, the altars of incense and animal sacrifice. Such was the only Beth-el or House of God from the conquest of Palestine to the foundation of the national Temple of Solomon (B.C. 1000). One "Sabbath" (Rest) only was prescribed by their legislator, Moses, who most probably abolished the holy days to the "other gods" (Josh. xxiv.) of their Babylonian ancestors and Egyptian contemporaries; just as the Protestants rejected the festivals of the "saints," or deified Christians, at the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

2. *The Monarchical Period* (B.C. 1100-588).—The foundation of the Temple dates from the age of Solomon, the culmination of the Hebrew monarchy. So also we find the Parthenon (House of the Virgin) rose in the age of Pericles, in classic Greece, and St. Peter's in Christian Rome, in the age of Leo X. But if the national prosperity was based on the conquests of David and Solomon, the morals of the palace, crowded with 300 wives and 700 concubines, corrupted the simplicity and purity of the pastoral life of the Hebrew people, and finally resulted in the disruption of the kingdom with two capitals, at Samaria and Jerusalem, at the death of Solomon (B.C. 976).

The story of the gradual development of the Temple ritual, the full-blown sacerdotal hierarchy, sacrificial system, and sacred festivals, cannot be followed out in detail in this place. One fact is evident, that the worship of sacred fire, in the form of the seven-branched candle-

stick, found a place in Solomon's Temple, and sacred festivals held on the periodical return of the new moon, in common with the Parsees, Chaldeans, Babylonians, and Assyrians; and we have just learned that the Sabbath, or rest of the seventh day of the week, was observed in ancient Babylon and Nineveh, the birthplace of Abraham, the "Father of the Faithful." No doubt the brazen bulls, on which the holy laver rested, as well as the "horns" attached to the altars of incense and sacrifice, were admitted in compliance with the sacred customs of the surrounding Asiatic people—religious phenomena which will not surprise the student familiar with the growth and development of the mediæval ritual of the ancient Church of European Christendom.

Our present object, however, does not require us to offer an exposition of Leviticus or Deuteronomy, the second edition of the Levitical Law, published in the days of Josiah (B.C. 610). But as we have arrived at that period of the history of Israel which runs parallel to the revival of learning in Christian Europe and Britain, the question arises—What is the nature of the religious reformation of ancient Mosaism accomplished by the prophets, seers, and censors of Judæa from the age of Solomon to the Babylonian conquest (B.C. 588)?

Here let the reader bear in mind that the declining period of the Hebrew monarchy corresponds to the same age in Europe from Dante and the Renaissance to the present day, or from the age of Pericles to the abolition of the old religion by Theodosius the Great, in Greece as well as in Rome (A.D. 381).

The first step in the social decomposition was the disruption of the nation into the minor kingdoms of Judah and Israel, with the two capitals of Jerusalem and Samaria,

the result of which was chronic civil wars and contests for the supremacy, as in Sparta and Athens. The former retained the religion of Judaism, while the latter reverted to the Egyptian worship of the sacred bull (Apis); and two schools of prophets date their origin from this epoch, the Prophets or Censors of Judah and Israel; and are more easily understood if regarded as the champions of the Popery and Protestantism of Hebraism. The study of the Chronicles and Kings shows that, over and over again, the accession of a new monarch was followed by the rejection or adoption of the foreign religions of their Asiatic environment, and reminds us of the Papal and Protestant tendencies of the supporters of the old and new faith during the last four centuries in Europe and Britain.

The very Law of Moses itself was issued in a second edition—Deuteronomy (δευτερος-νόμος, Second Law)—in the reign of the reforming king Josiah (B.C. 640), not one whit more surprising than the exposition of the Confessio Fidei of the Council of Trent, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, or the Confession of Faith drawn up by the Westminster Assembly so late as the seventeenth century of our own era. But we are specially concerned in this place with the discovery of the germs of the New Religion—the reformed and purer faith which sprang from the stock of the old Mosaism; and that germ is found in the bosom of the Second Law (Deut. vi. 4)—"Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord: And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might"—the very heart and soul of the Mosaic law of the Ten Commandments planted in the social body of incipient Christianism by the Reformer of later Judaism.

The very same spirit might be found in the "essence floating free," which forms the intellectual atmosphere of the national collection of Hebrew poems (the Psalms). But the later poets and prophets formulated the protesting and reactionary spirit of the age during the religious contests and collisions carried on posterior to the epoch of the Second Law. Consequently we shall proceed to trace the development of Hebrew religious sentiment in their writings—1st, Down to the Babylonish Conquest; and 2d, During the Provincial Period.

1. The liberal tendencies of the Samaritan prophets are found in the fragments of the writings of Jonah (B.C. 850), who flourished a whole century after the death of Solomon, when commercial and international relations were carried on from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Euphrates; and from Tyre, Sidon, Joppa, Jerusalem, and Egypt to Babylon and Nineveh. The sole distinction, in the Divine conceptions over the whole area, lay in the titles assigned to the sun and moon gods, the king and queen of heaven, and their brilliant suite of celestial attendants. The god "El" of the Jew was the very same god as the god Il of Babylon, and Allah of the Arabs. So were Baal and Moloch of the Tyrians and Sidonians, the lord and monarch of the skies. So also were the Persian Ormuzd and Ahriman (Ahura-Mazda and Angro-Mainyus), the lord of light and darkness, good and evil; and the Egyptian Isis and Osiris belonged to the same category. The commercial traveller from Spain to Russia, from Madrid to Moscow, in Europe, meets with a similar medley of races, languages, and religions in the present day, overshadowed by the same Sun of Righteousness shining with healing in his wings, in the social firmament. Hence the seer of Samaria who sailed from Joppa, the

seaport of Jerusalem, and had travelled over the caravan route to Damascus and Nineveh, proclaimed the everlasting gospel of the day—"I knew that thou art a gracious God, and merciful; slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentest thee of the evil;" and put the unanswerable question to the penitent people in the mouth of Jehovah—"Should not I spare Nineveh that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand, and also much cattle?"

The time was when the poets sang, "All the gods of the people are idols;" but the God of Samaria is now identified with the God of Nineveh, and the penitence of the people proves an acceptable propitiation in his sight.

The one thing needful in religious life, according to the Samaritan Hosea, who charges the people with the adoption of foreign religions, is "mercy and not sacrifice," the common phrase which played so important a part in the mouth of the Jewish Reformers at the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem. And the sole desire of the seer's heart for the kingdom of Israel is the restoration of national unity—"And the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and they shall appoint themselves *one head*." Such is the earliest form of the so-called "Messianic idea," the patriotic longing for the re-establishment of the Anointed (Maschach) King in Jerusalem, the old political centre of the kingdom of Israel. We shall see the national feeling growing in depth and intensity after the Babylonian conquest.

The stormy tirades of the "herdsman Amos" close with the same prediction and expectation—"In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof. I will raise up his ruins,

and I will build it as in the days of old." Again, when we turn to Isaiah the First (B.C. 753), as we may style him by way of distinction from the "Great Unknown" author of the second half of the combined work which passes under his name—the seer of Judah and Jerusalem a century later—"the whole land is full of idols," and, in his allegorical language, "the whole head" (of the daughter of Sion) is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrefying sores." Can any student of religious phenomena be astonished that a Hebrew Puritan, with his tongue tipped with fire from the altar, should have scathed the traditional conventionalism and ecclesiastical ceremonialism in language familiar as household words to universal Christendom? "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow (chap. i. 11-17). And when the frenzied prophet stripped himself of his mantle, and symbolised their future captivity by his appearance amongst them as a naked slave for three long years, we must remember not only that chains of slaves were driven in such a guise by the great conquerors of the East, but that Oriental peoples were familiar with the lives of naked Yogis and Gymnosophists —devoted hermits and ascetics—subjected to prohibition by the British Government in India in the present day.

We need scarcely add that the brilliant peroration of Isaiah's terrible denunciations and personal illustration

closes with the glorious vision of the future restoration of the kingdom of Israel in Jerusalem at the hands of "a root of Jesse," the father of the royal house of Judah.

It is now agreed on all hands that the famous passage, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son," bore immediate reference to the contests and alliances of the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel. "For before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken," leaves no room for doubt on the subject.

The whole soul of the fervid Micah (B.C. 730) must have been sickened with the soothsaying, sorcery, and witchcraft, revolution and counter-revolution, the bloody shambles and reeking incense of the clashing Temples, when he thundered out his burning question to the fiery controversialists of the age—"Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

In the next generation the whole land, suffering from the panic of approaching war, is summoned to a general fast by Joel: "Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them." And the passionate heart of the prophet melts with compassion, and paints his glowing ideals on the veil of futurity—

"And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." We shall see by and by the fermenting influence of these visionary ideals in the hearts of the future Reformer of Galilee, and the transient character of their primitive political and religious effervescence.

Can any student be astonished that Jeremiah (B.C. 640-588), standing on his prophetic watchtower surveying the movements of the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian hosts on the eve of the siege of Jerusalem, burst into wailing lamentation and woe—"Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people! Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging-place of wayfaring men; that I might leave my people, and go from them; for they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men"—and swept the Temple of Solomon, and the whole sacerdotal and sacrificial paraphernalia from his sight: "I spake not to your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices. But this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people." Circumcise your hearts is the new order. "And behold the days come that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel; I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their heart. And they shall serve the Lord their God and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them." Still hopes of future restoration.

The throne of David and Solomon was buried in the ruins of the Temple and the city of Jerusalem by Nebu-

chadnezzar, the king of Babylon; and the funeral knell of the kingdom of Israel was fitly rung out by the wail of the weeping prophet—the Lamentations of Jeremiah (B.C. 588). The fate of the kingdom of Israel was the common fate of all nations. And it has been truly said, "Nations have no resurrection."

3. *The Provincial Period* (B.C. 588 to A.D. 70)—under the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman Empires. The first seer who meets us after the Babylonian conquest is Ezekiel, seated on the banks of the river Chebar, outside the city, with dust on his head and sackcloth on his loins—the true attitude of the widowed daughter of Zion in exile; and the sole religion left to the people lately sunk in idolatry, and stripped of the paraphernalia and machinery of the national Temple, was purity of heart and life, subjected to the furnace of Babylonian suffering and persecution.

> "Hope springs eternal in the human breast;
> Man never is, but always to be blest.
> The soul, uneasy, and confined from home,
> Rests and expatiates in a life to come!"

Hence we find the pathetic seer of the Hebrew exiles pours promise after promise in the ears of his wailing countrymen: "And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David" (chap. xxxiv. 23).

At this point also, during the desolation of Jerusalem, we encounter Isaiah the Second—the "Great Unknown," who drew the portrait of the "Ideal Israelite"—"the righteous servant of Jahveh,"—the "despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, who was wounded for our transgressions, bruised

for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth" (chap. liii.), and uttered the "Everlasting Gospel," "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound" (chap. lxi.)—which cheered the hearts of his captive countrymen, and formed the famous text and manifesto of the future Reformer of Judaism at the Christian era. Nothing remained to the ideal seer of the Babylonian Captivity but the Temple of Nature—the cathedral of immensity, and the living temple of the heart of humanity: "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool; where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest? For all those things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord: but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word. He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood; he that burneth incense, as if he blessed an idol" (chap. lxvi.).

The next step in our progress carries us back to Jerusalem, with Ezra the priest and Nehemiah, the cupbearer of the Persian monarch, who obtained permission to restore the Temple and rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. The canon of the Hebrew sacred books was completed by Ezra, according to the traditions of the Talmud. And

the rise of the village synagogue (συναγωγή = assembly), with its elders, is traced to the necessity of expounding the old and obsolete Hebrew dialect to the common people of a later age, which ultimately formed the model of the first Christian Churches.

The first appearance of Satan (adversary), with the seven eyes of Jahveh, the seven-branched candlestick, and angels, betrays a new class of religious ideas borrowed from their Babylonian and Persian environments in the pages of Zechariah, posterior to the Captivity; and triumphant shouts welcome the future king, according to the prophet's own imagination: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass" (Zech. ix. 9).

The last seer who finds a place in the Hebrew canon still stands on the tip-toe of expectation and longing for the future consolidation of the kingdom of Israel: "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple" (Mal. iii. 1).

Hebrew Literature from Malachi to Josephus.

The body of literature belonging to this period comprises twelve fragments of poems, prayers, legends, maxims, and chronicles, passing under the designation of Apocrypha (spurious or extra-canonical), received into the canon by the mother Church, but rejected by the majority of her later and protesting offspring in modern Christendom; while "Lessons" only are selected from them by the Church of England in her morning and evening service.

The Book of Enoch, brought from Abyssinia in the present century, the Sibylline Oracles, the Psalter of Solomon, and the Book of Jubilees, as well as Philo and Josephus, form an important appendix, and yield the latest products of Hebrew thought and opinion prevalent in the age which gave birth to primitive Galileanism and Jewish Christianism.

Chronology apart, the Book of Tobit is saturated with Babylonianism and Assyrianism; the very atmosphere is full of good and evil angels wherever Tobit, the pious Jew and purveyor of the king of Nineveh, pitches his tent. No matter what happens, whether Asmodeus, the Evil Spirit, falls in love with a maid, or blindness to Tobit himself, the good angel Raphael is sent to bind the one and heal the other. The very incense of the burning heart and liver of a fish in the presence of a man drives the Devil away; "alms deliver from death, and purge away all sin," just as charity or loving-kindness covers a multitude of sins, according to Peter. The good counsel, "Do not that which thou hatest" (chap. iv.) is only the negative form of the royal law of love; and the pious and persecuted Jew, torn from the land of Galilee under Persian rule, still closes his eyes in the vain hope of national resurrection. "They shall return from all places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem, gloriously, and the house of God shall be built in it for ever, with a glorious building, as the prophets have spoken" (chap. xiv.).

Two additional works are ascribed to Ezra, but as they form only literary echoes of the earlier prophets, they do not call for any further remarks. Moreover, the glaring interpolations of later Christians denude them of all reliability.

All the astounding visions of Daniel sprang from the same Babylonian and Persian environment, and reveal the symbolical scenery and hieroglyphics familiar to every student of the Assyrian bulls and brick libraries of Nimroud—the tree and serpent worship of the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates. All the critical evidences converge in fixing the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, who prohibited sacrifice in the Temple, as the epoch of its origin. The furnace through which the friends of Daniel passed unscathed, as well as the den of lions (Ari-el = Lion, or Prince of God) was Babylon itself, whose princes subjected the Jews to persecution; the ram and goat were blazoned on the standards of the Macedonians and Persians, who claimed and contested the empire of the East; and the conclusion winds up, as usual, with the future glories of the "Anointed Prince," "the Hope of Israel."

For what reason we know not, the stinging satire styled "Bel (Belus) and the Dragon" was cut off from the end of Daniel and relegated to the Apocrypha. The Babylonian tyrant and conqueror of the Jews was brought on the stage eating grass like an ox in the former; while the sacred god of the Temple of Belus, the serpent, was fed on "pitch, and fat, and hair," and exploded before his eyes, in the latter. And the series of legends is crowned with the report of the substantial dinner, and not mere celestial comfort, supplied by Habakkuk, carried by the hair of the head on an angel's wings, to Daniel in the lion's den; while the Babylonian despot, overwhelmed by the miraculous evidence, cried out with a loud voice, "Great art thou, O Lord God of Daniel, and there is none other besides thee!"

Such are samples of the legends and myths (*μῦθοι* =

tales) and pious frauds concocted by Hebrew belaudists to exalt the merits of the spiritual heroes who passed through the Babylonian furnace of affliction and persecution in the den of lions.

The translation of the Hebrew sacred books into the Greek language at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 270), for the benefit of the Alexandrian Museum, forms an important epoch; for it placed the Hebrew Monotheism and morals at the command of the Hellenic and Roman philosophers, and was undoubtedly filtered into the Sibylline books in Rome, Athens, and Alexandria.

Out of that literary medium sprang the remarkable works passing under the title of the "Wisdom of Solomon," and "Ecclesiasticus," as well as many other minor products found in the Apocrypha. The literary form of expression is moulded on the sententious style of the Hebrew Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, but the new spirit which inspires them is the "Spirit of the Age,"—the intellectual atmosphere of the Alexandrian Library; in a word, Hellenic philosophy (*φίλο-σοφία*=love of wisdom). Wisdom is the key-note of the new Platonic Hebraism which passed through the later phase of Philonism and Neo-Platonism, and gave a philosophical tone to the mediæval systems of theology. "She is the breath of the power of God, and the image of goodness; and being but one, she can do all things, and remaining in herself, she maketh all things new; and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God and prophets. Moreover, by means of her I shall obtain immortality, and leave behind me an everlasting memorial to those that come after me" (chap. viii.).

Sometimes Wisdom is indeed synonymous with the

Word (Λόγος) of God, and personified over and over again in the Hebrew sacred books as well as Philo, and applied to Jesus in the New Testament. The term, in short, sums up all the attributes of the Deity, and the happy possessor of the Spirit of Wisdom is honoured with the flattering titles of the "Son of God," the "Just man," etc.; facts which must be carefully attended to in critical interpretation and exposition.

The existence of death among mankind is traced to the malignity of the Devil. "Through the envy of the Devil came death into the world" (chap. ii.). And the doctrine of the flesh and spirit is as clearly enunciated as in Pauline theology. "For the corrupt body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things" (chap. ix.). In fine, the identity of the cardinal virtues—the heart and soul of Hellenic ethics and philosophy—with the moral law of the Ten Commandments, is fully recognised by the author of the Alexandrian Wisdom of Solomon: "And if a man love righteousness (the characteristic of the Hebrew "Just man"), his labours are virtues, for she teacheth temperance and prudence (σωφροσύνη), justice (δίκη), and fortitude (ἀνδρεία), which are such things as man can have nothing more profitable in this life" (ch. viii.).

The long work of the Hebrew preacher (Ecclesiasticus) forms a rich fund of sententious sayings and shrewd maxims adapted to social life. And the omission of Daniel's name from his catalogue of spiritual heroes lends confirmation to the common opinion that the series of visions passing under his name appeared at a later period. The same key-note is struck as in the Wisdom of Solomon, and the whole literary atmosphere resounds with the praises of Divine Wisdom, the Almighty

Sovereign of the universe, and the Instructor of mankind: "She is with all flesh according to his gift" (chap. i.), and "in every people and nation" (chap. xxiv.) The Jew is becoming cosmopolitan.

So far as we can judge at this distance, the temple of nature (as in Isaiah the Second) has taken the place of the temple made with hands in the estimate of the Hellenic Jew of Alexandria: "He that keepeth the law bringeth offerings enough; he that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a peace-offering. He that requireth a good turn offereth fine flour; and he that giveth alms sacrificeth praise. To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord; [and to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation" (chap. xxxv.). "Whoso honoureth his father and mother maketh an atonement for his sin" (chap. iii.).

The whole of later Christianity lies in this nut-shell. The two books of Maccabees rank with Foxe's Martyrology, the stirring stories of the Huguenots, Puritans, and Covenanters of modern Protestantism, and record the revolt of Matthias and his five sons against the Macedonian Government (B.C. 165), and the attainment of temporary independence in the Asmonean family until the Roman conquest under Pompey (A.D. 63). And just as we find all the striking events which attract special attention magnified into providences by our Protestant martyrologist, the very clouds in heaven are transformed into horsemen running in the air on cloth of gold, and armed with lances like bands of soldiers in the feverish excitement of battle. "And there appeared unto their enemies from heaven five comely men upon horses with bridles of gold, and two of them led the Jews, and took Maccabæus between them and covered him on every side with their weapons, and kept him safe, but shot arrows and light-

nings against the enemies" (2 Macc. chap. x.). Terrible emphasis is laid on the resurrection of the Hebrew martyrs; for Razis, one of the elders of Jerusalem, leapt from a tower rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, "plucked out his bowels, and, taking them in both his hands, he cast them upon the throng, and calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore him them again" (2 Macc. chap. xiv.). We shall find the spirit of the Maccabees take possession of Jesus the Prophet of Nazareth, who inspired his Galilean disciples with the watchword of national patriotism, "Call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father who is in heaven."

Twelve books of Sibylline Oracles belong to the later Jewish apocalyptic literature which sprang into existence from the age of Antiochus Epiphanes down to the Christian era, and perhaps even after it. But as they are pervaded with the same mystic and visionary character in the hands of their classic, Jewish, and Christian authors, we may safely leave them *in nubibus*. They all, of course, breathe the same longing for the "Golden Age," as the Cumean Sibyl of the poetic idealist Virgil, the epic *vates* of Rome.

The Psalms of Solomon (18) emanated from the same period, but the references might suit the age of Antiochus Epiphanes equally with the times of Pompey the Great. The date, however, is quite immaterial. They form only a poetic expression of the well-known "Hope of Israel," the longing for national independence through a son or descendant of David—a righteous king taught of God—the anointed of the Lord to rule over Israel, and to "judge the tribes of a people sanctified by the Lord his God."

The Book of Jubilees was mentioned by Jerome as Little Genesis; but an Ethiopian copy was only brought to Europe in 1844 by Krapff, the missionary. The title is derived from its chronological arrangement according to the year of Jubilee. The work forms a literary curiosity, and appears to have been written for the purpose of carrying back the Jewish culture to the Patriarchal period, and investing it with the sanction and authority of Abrahamic antiquity on the very eve of its dissolution. Tithes, as well as circumcision, is an everlasting ordinance; the fallen angels are bound in the depths of the earth until the great day of judgment, just as in Peter's letters; and the golden age of one of the last "Fathers of Israel" merits special notice. "The days shall begin to increase, and the children of men shall become older from generation to generation, and from day to day, till their lifetime approaches 100 years. And there shall be none old or weary of life, but they shall be all like children and boys, and shall finish their days in peace and gladness, and shall live without a Satan or any other evil destroyer being present, for all their days shall be days of blessing and healing." Good old soul! dreaming of future Utopias on the brink of his nation's grave!

Like the Book of Jubilees, the Book of Enoch also was found in an Ethiopian version, brought from Abyssinia by Bruce the traveller in 1773, and published in an English translation by Archbishop Lawrence in 1821. The original work was composed in all probability at the close of the Maccabæan war, in the latter half of the second century (B.C. 136-106); and some critics profess to point out the later interpolations. Standing on his watchtower, as the author did, near the close of his

nation's existence, the entire history of the world, according to the Jews, from Adam to the last consummation, is arranged in a series of allegorical visions, regarding whose exposition commentators differ as much as in the interpretation of the Apocalypse of John. Thirty-seven kings of Israel before, and twenty-three after, the Babylonian Captivity, pass before us in the guise of shepherds of the people; but we need not puzzle our heads over the zoological hieroglyphs—dogs, eagles, kites, ravens, who tear and devour the sheep of Israel. The whole religious atmosphere is saturated and surcharged with the self-same spirit of the age, which burst in lurid lightnings and thunderbolts on the devoted Temple and holy city of Jerusalem until not one stone stood on another—in plain prose, the complete theology found in the lives and letters of the Reformers of Judaism: The Lord of spirits; the fall of man; fallen and unfallen angels, who neither marry nor are given in marriage; Paradise, Heaven, and Hell under the earth, with an unpassable gulf; the righteous becoming like angels; the Book of Life; the tablet of heaven; the last judgment; and the new heaven where dwelleth righteousness ruled by the Lord's Anointed (Messiah), with a robe brighter than the sun and whiter than snow, seated on an exalted throne canopied with lightnings, and stars, and blazing fire—all minutely described by the favoured seer from personal inspection in Paradise. But as we shall find it necessary to refer to these sources of primitive Christian theology in the sequel, no further remarks are called for at this stage. The grand discovery has scarcely dawned on the world, "blinded with the dust of creed."

The next work which merits special notice at our hands is the production of Philo, an Alexandrian Jew,

mentioned by Josephus the historian, who never appears to have heard of his great contemporary, the Galilean Prophet and Reformer. All the leading distinctive doctrines passing under the title of Pauline Christianity, as well as in the treatise addressed to the Hebrews (and now generally assigned to Apollos of Alexandria), are found in the voluminous pages of the Platonic Philo—a fact which need not surprise us any more than the independent origin of German, Swiss, and French Protestantism under Martin Luther, Zwingle, and John Calvin. Most assuredly the religious elements of Hellenism and Hebraism compounded by the Platonic Philo sprang from an independent centre of religious distribution, and were embodied by Apollos in the earliest Christian "form of sound words."

All traces of old Jewish nationalism and particularism vanish in the literary precincts of the Alexandrian Museum. And the only political Messiah required in Alexandria was fully secured by Philo's own mission to Rome, to plead the cause of his fellow-countrymen. Consequently he enrols himself, like the Roman philosophers of the day, a citizen of the world, and boasts of a God who created the world in the beginning, and is "Father of all men." But although there is no existing being equal to God in Philo's theology, the first-born Word (Λόγος, reason) is the eldest of his angels, the great archangel of many names; for he is called the Authority and the "Name of God," and the Word, and the Man according to God's Image (Plato's ideal "type" in heaven), and He who sees Israel. Not only so, "but he has about him an unspeakable number of powers, all of which are defenders and preservers of everything that is created." No one can fail to remark the development of Philo's celestial hierarchy, and angelology, which found its way

into later Christian theology. In all probability the purity and profundity of his doctrines were partially due to the mystical teaching of the Therapeutae and Essenes of his Alexandrian environment. But the teacher whom he most delighted to honour was Plato, the great reformer of Hellenic religion and philosophy—"the sweetest of all writers," the very father of all his intellectual light and reasonableness.

The world, as well as the soul, is regarded as the temple of the Divine Word (Λόγος), Reason, or Wisdom. "There are two temples belonging to God: one being this world, in which the High Priest is the Divine Word (Λόγος), his own first-born Son. The other is the Rational Soul, the priest of which is the real true man" (ii. 337). The very Moral Law written on two tables of stone by the finger of Jahveh is resolved into two commandments with as great subtilty as the Galilean Prophet: "Of the ten commandments engraved on these tables, which are properly and especially laws, there is an equal division into two numbers of five; the first of which contains the principle of justice relating to God, and the second those relating to man" (ii. 126).

The whole race of mankind is placed under the dominion of the flesh and spirit—the inferior and the better soul of Plato, just as by Paul, the Roman Reformer. The sacrifice of the whole mind to God, the Saviour and Benefactor, is declared to be the only genuine worship with as great distinctness by Philo as by the Prophet of Nazareth: "For what can be a real and true sacrifice but the piety of a soul which loves God?" (iii. 96-216.)

Hereafter we shall see that the Philonian corresponded in its main features both with the Pauline and Apollonian Reformation. Contemporary as is Philo's Jewish theology

with the origin of primitive Galileanism and Christianism, it is a thousand times more valuable than all the Targums, Mishna, Gemara, Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds put together. No reliance can be placed on such a chronological conglomeration of commentators, whereas we can quote Philo word for word, and place him side by side with the discourses of the leaders of thought and opinion who laid the foundations of primitive Christianism. The nearest approach to the traditional belief is the sudden and spontaneous restoration of the people scattered over the earth to "the ancient prosperity of their ancestors;" "in one day, at a given signal; to one place pointed out to them, being guided on their way by some vision" (*On Curses*).

The last work which closes the literary development of the Jewish people—*The Antiquities and Wars of the Jews*—proceeded from the pen of the historian Josephus. It forms a second edition of Hebrew history; and records the whole political, religious, and moral condition of the people at the birth of Christianity. *The Wars of the Jews, or the Destruction of Jerusalem*, appeared A.D. 75, only five years after the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. They are simply inestimable for the purpose of understanding the rise and development of the Christian faith in the midst of dissolving and disintegrating Judaism.

All the parties in Church and State pass before the spectator on the dramatic stage of the graphic and elegant historian. And minute descriptions of the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and Galileans are introduced in their proper place. The "Herodians" are not expressly mentioned. Nevertheless, the speech put into the mouth of Herod, at the restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem, leaves no doubt on the mind that he claimed, in that

very account, to be the expected "King of the Jews" who "had advanced the nation to a degree of happiness they never had before" (*Antiq.* xv. 11, 1; Hausrath's *Times of Jesus*, vol. ii. 22). But our modern critics still controvert the famous paragraph which makes only a passing allusion to the Messiah, or the "Anointed" Prophet of Nazareth and the Christians. And yet notice is taken of the stoning of James, his brother. Not a single word bears reference to any miraculous birth—not even to the massacre of the Innocents at Bethlehem, nor to a resurrection from the dead, or ascension to heaven like Enoch or Elijah in a chariot of fire and horses of fire.

Over and over again, the last war with the Romans is stated to have arisen from the attempts of the "Zealots" to recover their national independence. And the whole country was overrun with the chiefs of bands of robbers and brigands, who assumed the title of "kings" for that purpose. So frenzied were the people, that Theudas, a magician, deluded them by promising to play the part of Moses and Joshua and divide the waters of Jordan, but the miracle failed in the execution. And the last signs, omens, and prodigies crowded round the destruction of Jerusalem—stars, comets, heifers giving birth to lambs, chariots and troops of soldiers rushing through the clouds of heaven, and the voice of a great multitude in the air, saying, "Let us remove hence"—form a singular class of social delusions which have not been frequently recorded in national history. But the most terrible and pathetic phenomenon to Josephus was the dying wail of the last of the Hebrew prophets, named Jesus, who persisted, in the midst of scoffs and stones, to cry—"'Woe, woe to Jerusalem! woe, woe to the city again, and to the people, and to the holy house!' And just as he added at the

last, 'Woe, woe to myself also!' there came a stone out of the engines and smote him and killed him immediately, and as he was uttering the very same presages, he gave up the ghost."

But we have no intention of offering a critical analysis of the Hebrew theology peculiar to Josephus in this place. We shall find occasion to refer to the popular beliefs, superstitions, and delusions mentioned by the historian in our future pages, such as, *e.g.*, the conversation of God with men, prophetic inspiration, also claimed for himself, demons, and souls of dead men taking possession of living ones, miraculous signs, divine indications, etc.

The primitive tabernacle, as well as the Temple of Solomon, formed symbolical types and representations of the universe and heaven, according to Josephus; and the sum and substance of the Jewish religion is condensed by the philosophical historian into simple justice towards men, and piety towards God. Singular to relate, Vespasian, the Roman conqueror and Emperor of Judæa, was regarded by Josephus as the divine fulfilment of all the nation's long-lived aspirations. "But now what did the most elevate them, in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle, that was also found in their sacred writings, how 'about that time one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth.' The Jews took this prediction to themselves in particular, and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judæa." (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, b. vi. chap. 5, § 4). Josephus must be regarded as a favourable type of the philosophical Jew who adapted the Roman and Hellenic culture of the age, and may enable us to form a proper

estimate of his enthusiastic contemporary, Paul, the Jewish Pharisee, who expanded Galileanism into cosmopolitan Christianism, and took the leading part in the reformation of the Roman Empire. "In not one of the numerous works discussed by us," is the conclusion of Schürer, in *The Jewish People in the Times of Jesus Christ*, "have we found the slightest allusion to an atoning suffering of Messiah. That the Jews were far from entertaining such an idea, is abundantly proved by the conduct of both the disciples and opponents of Jesus (Matt. xvi. 22; Luke xviii. 34, xxiv. 21; John xii. 34). Accordingly it may well be said that it was on the whole one quite foreign to Judaism in general" (Division II., vol. ii. p. 187).

Such, then, is the merest outline of the religious development of the Jewish people during the tribal, monarchical, and provincial phases of their national existence. And the special attention which we have paid to the last age of social and religious decomposition and recomposition, and the continuity of Jewish literary activity, should have prepared the mind of every earnest student to enter upon the future investigation and discussion of the Lives and Letters of the Reformers of ancient Judaism.

N.B.—As this is a mere skeleton of the development of Jewish opinion, more especially regarding the restoration of National Independence, the student should take up each author separately, and acquire exact notions of the opinions belonging to his own age; and reject the obsolete method of foisting the whole "Reformed Opinions" of a later age into the work of every author.

BOOK I.

LIVES, LETTERS, AND OPINIONS OF THE REFORMERS OF JUDAISM AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE LIVES AND OPINIONS OF JEHOSHUA (GREEK, JESUS) THE PROPHET OF NAZARETH OF GALILEE.

"The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."—Rev. xix. 10.

Here, at the outset, the preliminary question arises: What account does the earliest extant Christian historian give of the genesis and development of "the new and strange religion" of the Roman Empire at the era of its adoption by the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, and the formulation of the Creed at the Nicene Council, A.D. 325? For the reply given by Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, furnishes us with the information which determines the whole course of our future inquiries—we mean the nature of the genuineness, authenticity, and authority of the sacred books which formed the Christian canon (*κανών*) or rule of faith. For example, Eusebius states that Luke's biography of Jesus was founded on second-hand testimony, and that he was an "eye-witness" of the "Acts of the Apostles." But his statement is open to

question regarding the lives both of Peter and Paul; and Luke, for aught we know to the contrary, may have borrowed some of his materials from the spurious "Acts" of Peter and Paul. "The Epistles of Paul are fourteen, are well known, and beyond doubt. It should not, however, be concealed that some have set aside the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it was disputed, as not being one of St. Paul's Epistles. Among the disputed books, although they are well known and approved by many, are reputed those called the Epistles of James and Jude; also the two Epistles of Peter, and those called the Second and Third of John." His statements regarding the Revelation of St. John, taken from Papias, are as follows: "It is here proved that the statements of those are true who assert that there are two of the same name in Asia; that there were also two tombs in Ephesus, and that both are called Johns even to this day, which it is particularly necessary to observe. For it is probable that the second, if it be not allowed that it was the first, saw the revelations ascribed to John." Again, "Clement (Alexandrian) also gives the tradition respecting the order of the Gospels as derived from the oldest presbyters, as follows: he says that those which contain the genealogies were written first, and adds the following quotation from Origen: 'As I have understood from tradition respecting the four Gospels, which are the only undisputed ones in the whole Church of God throughout the world, the first is written according to Matthew, the same that was once a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ (anointed), who having published it for the Jewish converts, wrote it in Hebrew. The second is according to Mark, who composed it as Peter explained to him, whom he also acknowledges as his son in his general Epistle, saying,

"The elect church in Babylon salutes you, as also Mark my son;" and the third according to Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, which was written for the converts from the Gentiles; and last of all, the Gospel according to John.'"

The only Gospel admitted by the Ebionites, Nazarites, or primitive Jewish Christians, who followed the Prophet of Nazareth, was Matthew, without the genealogy, as we learn from Irenæus. But this subject will come before us again.

Such are the plain statements of Eusebius regarding the miscellaneous Christian literature which was soon placed side by side with the sacred books of the Jews; and all the false gospels and patristic literature sifted from the collection, even after having been publicly read in the early Christian Churches, may be found within the boards of a single volume published in the library of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. For example, the Pastor of Hermas was excluded according to Eusebius. "But as the same apostle, in the addresses at the close of the Epistle to the Romans, has among others made mention also of Hermas, of whom they say we have the book called Pastor, it should be observed that this too is disputed by some, on account of which it is not placed among those of acknowledged authority. By others it is judged most necessary, especially to those who need an elementary introduction. Hence we know that it has been already in public use in our churches, and I have also understood by tradition that some of the most ancient writers have made use of it." So also was Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians. And we quote the following passage for the purpose of showing that great diversity of opinion existed amongst the early Christians at the date of their recognition by Constantine the Great. "Among the

spurious must be numbered both the books called 'The Acts of Paul,' and that called 'Pastor,' and 'The Revelations of Peter.' Besides these, the books called 'The Epistle of Barnabas,' and what are called 'The Institutions of the Apostles.' Moreover, as I said before, if it should appear right, 'The Revelation of St. John,' which some as before said reject, but others rank among the genuine. But there are also some who number among these the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have received Christ are particularly delighted,"—with several additional gospels.

Not only so, but the copies of the MSS. were liable to pious frauds, forgeries, and interpolations by the champions of every new sect that came into existence. Hence his indignant complaint: "But as to these men who abuse the acts of the unbelievers to their own heretical views, and who adulterate the simplicity of that faith contained in the Holy Scriptures, saying that they have corrected them, and that I do not say this against them without foundation, whoever wishes may learn; for should any one collect and compare their copies one with another, he would find them greatly at variance among themselves."

The most notorious instance of this practice of adaptation to the theological systematic development, was the "Three Witnesses" (1 John), foisted into the manuscripts after the Nicene Council, lately rejected in the new revision of the New Testament. And rival schools of criticism are as rife as ever, fifteen centuries after the foundation of the first Christian empire.

So much for the literary documents containing the Christian "Rule of Faith." Our present object is not to discuss the present state of the received texts, collation of MSS., various readings, surviving interpolations, and

mistranslations. We trust our historical method will place us in a vantage-ground beyond all the petty questions of textual criticism.

The net results regarding the Christian literature which formed the sources of the lives and letters of the Reformer of Judaism are: 1. The Ebionites, Nazarenes, Galileans, or Jewish Christians, who adhered, like the founder, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, to the national religion, and observed the Temple ritual in Jerusalem, only accepted the Gospel according to Matthew, with the omission of the genealogy, miraculous birth, etc. But even if it could be proved that the angelic announcement itself formed part of the first edition of Matthew's biography, the application of the title "Son of the Highest" is quite consistent with Jewish Christianity; and the quotation of the famous passage regarding a virgin in Isaiah, which referred to the birth and growth of a child in that age, must have been foisted into the text like the "Three Witnesses," after the formation of the Nicene Creed, by some Roman or Greek Christian, who believed in "Sons of God." 2. The second in order of publication was the Gospel according to Luke, the friend and physician of Paul. 3. The Gospel according to Mark was written at Peter's dictation. 4. The fourth and "Spiritual Gospel" was written by John, the beloved disciple. 5. Fourteen letters are ascribed to Paul. 6. The authority of James, Jude, the second and third letters of John, Second Peter, the Acts of the Apostles, the Hebrews, and the Revelation were open to question. Here, we need scarcely add, there is scope enough for collation and correction of MSS., critical analysis, and careful interpretation, and sufficient grounds for the great diversity of opinion which exists at the present day.

The First Phase of Christianity.—Galileanism.

To begin with the first question: What is the nature of the Jewish Christianity—the Ebionitism (*ebion*=poor), Nazaritism, or Galileanism founded by Jehoshua (Jesus), the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee? And the full reply to the question invites an inquiry regarding (1) "The sect of Galileans everywhere spoken against;" (2) The connection of Jesus with his cousin, John the Baptist; and (3) His independent mission as prophet and preacher to the poor—the champion of the neglected classes of the age, in accordance with his own announcement, "I am not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

1. "*The sect of Galileans everywhere spoken against.*"—All we know regarding the Galileans, from Matthew and his fellow-biographers, is that Jesus was the son of Joseph, a carpenter of Nazareth, a town in Galilee; that he started on his mission as prophet at thirty years of age, followed the standard of his cousin John until his death, and proclaimed the establishment of "the kingdom of God," with the prohibition, "Call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven."

The fact is unmistakable that the new prophet served himself heir to the hereditary mission of all his predecessors—the restoration of national independence and the censorship of the priesthood and people. The peculiar form which the popular protest assumed at the outset of his career must have been determined by the Galilean sect founded by Judas of Galilee—a fact which we learn from Josephus the historian. After stating the doctrines of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, he says: "But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other

things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends; nor can any such fear make them call any man Lord." Hence the jubilant tone of his father at the birth and circumcision of John the Baptist: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David; as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets which have been since the world began: that we should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us; to perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant; the oath which he sware to our father Abraham, that he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life. And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways; to give the knowledge of salvation unto his people by the remission of their sins, through the tender mercy of our God; whereby the dayspring from on high has visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace."

That splendid passionate outburst of patriotic feeling is only an echo of the old prophets, and was destined to disappointment. So also were the glorious hopes of the just and devout Simeon, in the presence of the root of the house of David in the Temple, waiting for the consolation of Israel. Hence, too, his cousin John, imprisoned by Herod Antipas, sent his disciples to put

the question: "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" and the only reply was, "Go and show John again those things which you do hear and see. The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, and the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the good news preached to them; and blessed is he who does not find me a stumbling-block." Hence the Pharisees tested him with questions: "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Show me the tribute-money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he said unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They say unto him, Cæsar's. Then said he unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." His astute reply was sufficient for the purpose of silencing his enemies. But his private opinion was elicited in the course of a conversation with Peter, regarding the payment of Roman tribute—the prudent policy of compliance with the demands of the Roman government. Once, indeed, when the spies of the priesthood put a question involving the discharge of civil and judicial functions—"Master, speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me"—he said to him, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" He foiled his opponents by adopting the retort of the Egyptian taskmasters to Moses. The impression left on the minds of Peter, James, and John during his brilliant conversation regarding the reforming missions of Moses and Elijah must have deepened their belief in his revolutionary aims and tendencies. If not, what did he mean by the predictive assurance, "Ye shall not have gone over the cities of

Israel till the 'Son of Man' be come"? And why did the mother of James and John petition their leader for places in the future "kingdom" of Israel, and receive the response, veiled in oracular ambiguity, "It shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father"? Why did he ride in a procession on an ass into Jerusalem, amidst popular demonstrations, and acclamations of "King of Sion" and "Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee"? And why, above all, did he plait a whip of cords, and enter the holy Temple, and drive out the sheep and the oxen, and pour out the changers' money, and overthrow the tables, and say to them, "Take these things hence; make not my Father's house an house of merchandise"? Most assuredly multitudes of his followers not only cherished the fond expectation, the hereditary longing for national independence, in spite of the terrible repression of former insurrections, but desired him to assume the royal office of the "Lord's Anointed" (Messiah), and fulfil the hope of Israel. "When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him king, he departed again into a mountain by himself alone."

But the judicial opinion of the Jewish Sanhedrim, the "Fathers of Israel," who had tracked the steps of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee with spies, and digested all the reports, removes all doubts on this important point. "Then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many miracles. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation. And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that

the whole nation perish not." We need not repeat the pathetic and harrowing details of his sudden arrest, trial, crucifixion, and burial. They are familiar as household words to universal Christendom. And the martyr's heroism has proved bones and marrow to suffering and persecuted Christians in every age and clime.

The very "soldiers led him away into the hall called Prætorium; and they call together the whole band. And they clothed him with purple, and plaited a crown of thorns, and put it about his head, and began to salute him, Hail, King of the Jews! And they smote him on the head with a reed, and did spit upon him, and bowing their knees worshipped him. And when they had mocked him, they took off the purple from him, and put his own clothes on him, and led him out to crucify him." And an epigraph also was written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, "This is the King of the Jews." But if any student of these Christian memoirs entertains the slightest doubt that the fundamental hopes of his disciples were dashed to the ground by his sudden arrest and martyrdom, let him read the simple record: "And behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. And they talked together of all these things which had happened. And it came to pass, that while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad? And the one of them, whose name was Cleopas, answering, said unto him, Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass in these days?

And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people: and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have crucified him. But we *trusted that it had been he who should have redeemed Israel:* and beside all this, to-day is the third day since these things were done. Then said he unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight." Now, by way of testing this narrative by the historical method, we simply ask, what value would the student attach to such a report in the pages of Foxe, the martyrologist, at the epoch of our own Reformation?

We have thus attempted to give an harmonious account of the rise and progress of the "sect of Galileans everywhere spoken against," according to the Gospel of Matthew (supplemented by the biographies of Mark, Luke, and John), of course without any reference to the genealogy and miraculous birth, rejected by the Nazarites and Ebionites. And it is consistent with the express statements of Matthew, "when the multitudes saw it they marvelled, and glorified God, who had given such power to men;" as well as of Eusebius, the first Christian historian, "These are properly called Ebionites (*ebion*= poor) by the ancients, as those who cherished low and mean opinions of Christ (the Anointed). For they considered him a plain and common man, and justified only

by his advances in virtue, and that he was born of the Virgin Mary by natural generation. With them the observance of the law was altogether necessary, as if they could not be saved only by faith in Christ, and a corresponding life" (Euseb. p. 102).

Three centuries of Christianity in the hands of Paul, the Roman Reformer, and the Greek and Roman "Fathers," clothed the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee with the halo and glories of apotheosis; but the contemporary series of Roman emperors, including Constantine the Great, was honoured with the same Roman deification.

2. *The Connection of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, with his cousin, John the Baptist.*—Why did the Galilean Jesus enrol himself in the discipleship of the popular prophet of the day, the son of Zacharias, the priest of Judah, with his raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat locusts and wild honey, preaching in the wilderness? Both of them were Nazarites, and "tasted neither wine nor strong drink." All the motives which swayed the young Galilean are beyond our reach. One thing is evident, the schools of the prophets were familiar to the minds of the Jewish people, and his cousin John started on his prophetic career at an earlier date than himself, in all probability because he had received his theological education at the Temple and the traditional sanction of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem. Joshua (with whom he is compared in Hebrew) was prepared at the feet of Moses for the leadership of the people of Israel and the Land of Promise. Elisha followed Elijah before he caught his master's mantle, and both of their names were alluded to in his first discourse in the synagogue of Nazareth. Josephus the historian also mentions that he spent three years in

attendance on one Barus, who lived in the desert and used no clothing. Be that as it may, the office which John assumed was the herald of the expected Messiah, "the very latchet of whose sandals," said he, "I am not worthy to unloose." And when Jesus did attach himself to his prophetic school, his complimentary assertion, "I have need to be baptized of you," was set aside by the deferential reply, "Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness." No doubt the "counsels of perfection," which the rigid moralist and ascetic addressed to the publicans, soldiers, and people generally, who confessed their sins, produced an ineffaceable impression on his susceptible soul. And when John laid his axe to the root of all the spiritual pride and haughtiness of the Pharisees, founded on their hereditary descent from Abraham, the "Father of the Faithful," we may be sure he never forgot them in his future denunciations of their sectarian animosities and corruption of the national priesthood.

John fell a victim at an early date to his own prophetic *furore* and censure of Herod Antipas, on account of taking possession of Herodias, his brother Philip's wife; while his cousin only gave expression to the popular feeling when he said, "Among those that are born of women, there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist." At the same time he stamped the striking characteristic of the last of the prophets of the old Jewish and the first of the Christian order with a single stroke of illustrative genius: "Whereunto shall I liken the men of this generation? and to what are they like? They are like unto children sitting in the market-place, and calling unto one another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned to you, and ye have not wept.

For John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine; and ye say, He hath a devil. The Son of man is come eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners! But Wisdom is justified of all her children."

3. *What, then, forms the distinctive characteristic of the religious, moral, and social Reformer of ancient Judaism?* —Apart from the political aspect of his native Galileanism, we reply, his independent mission as prophet and preacher to the poor, the champion of the neglected classes of his age, in accordance with his own announcement, "I am not sent, except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and the positive foundation of a social brotherhood—the nucleus of a new "kingdom of God" on earth, placed under the government of the spirit of the Moral Law of Moses—the love of God and man. The text of his first discourse was taken from Isaiah the Second as the *beau-idéal* of the righteous servant of God (Luke iv. 18-21). "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," stands at the head of his reforming proclamation. "Sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven," was the test of discipleship. "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," were the missionary orders given to the twelve disciples sent to the twelve tribes of Israel; and they were repeated to other seventy (borrowed from the legislative council of Moses) also, when he "sent them two and two before his face into every city and place whither he himself would come." The source of his own livelihood is ascribed to the generosity of some wealthy female followers, who "had been healed of evil

spirits and infirmities:" "And certain women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary, called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, and Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, who ministered unto him of their property." And in all probability it was an annual provision, the voluntary offering of female gratitude and devotion. Accordingly, when he reminded an enthusiastic Scribe of his houseless condition during his prophetic pilgrimage, who came and said to him, "Master, I will follow you wherever you go;" his pathetic reply is, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man has not where to lay his head," is chargeable with no inconsistency.

Here the question arises, Has not the Galilean prophet and successor of John the Baptist next adopted the doctrines and life of the Essenians, mentioned by Philo and Josephus, who devoted themselves to a cœnobite life (κοινὸς βίος = common life or co-operative association) on the banks of Jordan as well as in Egypt? Strange to say, the Essenes are never mentioned by name in the New Testament, but they must have been familiar to the Jews and his disciples, who travelled over the length and breadth of the land on their missionary tours. In fact, De Quincey devoted an essay to prove the identity of the Essenians and Christians, and his evidences were—(1) They formed a religious brotherhood based on a community of goods; (2) Riches were therefore held in contempt; (3) Marriage was prohibited to the members, but one party adopted it with restrictions; (4) Swearing oaths was forbidden; (5) No provision was made on travelling, but they practised hospitality; (6) Medicine was practised; (7) No animal sacrifices were offered in the Temple

of Jerusalem; (8) Prophets and interpreters of dreams were found amongst them; (9) Special rules were laid down for the regulation of praise, prayer, and preaching, and the permission of public speaking granted by turns to the members; (10) And all the members were sworn to keep their doctrines a secret from the rest of the world. No doubt there are strong points of likeness between the two sects—the Purists and Puritans of Palestine, and any one can trace out the details for himself; but their independent existence is an historical fact vouched for by Josephus the historian, and Philo of Alexandria. And if the Galilean reformer adopted a number of the Essenian doctrines and practices, he only trod in the footsteps of his prophetic predecessors. At the very outset of his career, his assurance to the people was: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." And again, to his own disciples: "Herein is that saying true, One soweth, and another reapeth. I sent you to reap that wherein ye bestowed no labour; other men laboured, and ye are entered into their labours."

So far as his esoteric or secret doctrines are concerned, his revolutionary aims were only mentioned to his favourite disciples, Peter, James, and John, on Mount Tabor, in a conversation regarding his predecessors, Moses and Elijah; and the necessity of caution in the midst of the Herodian, Pharisaic, and Sadducean factions led him to clothe his social and religious reforms in the language of oriental fable or parable, which he privately expounded in detail to his own disciples (Mark iv. 33).

The fulness of time was come, and the Augustan age of the Roman Empire was ripe for reformation.

CHAPTER II.

THE OPINIONS OF JESUS.

Let us now look a little more closely at the nature and development of Judaism in the hands of Jesus; and for the sake of order we shall arrange his opinions under the following subjects: (1) On the Sacred Books of the Jews; (2) on the Nature and Character of the Deity; (3) the Temple Ritual; (4) the Priesthood and People; (5) the Sabbath; (6) Heaven and Good Angels; Hell, Satan, Evil Angels, and Demons; (7) Pre-visions regarding the Future Fate of the Jewish Church and State.

1. *The Sacred Books of the Jews* are quoted by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee as "the law, the psalms, and the prophets;" and the only charge he brought against the Scribes and Pharisees of the day was the imposition of heavy burdens which they would not touch with one of their fingers; and making the commandments of God of no effect through their traditions. The very "Father of the Faithful" himself, in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, re-echoes the popular belief from the depths of Sheol and the invisible world: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rise from the dead." At the same time the Sadducees, like the Samaritans who founded the kingdom of Israel at the death of Solomon, only accepted the Pentateuch or five books of Moses, and believed neither in angels, the immortality of the soul, nor "Abraham's bosom," the title given to the invisible world of the Hebrews. Accordingly, the most revolutionary speech uttered by the Jewish

Reformer was made at Jacob's Well in Sychar, a city of Samaria, and revealed his revolutionary tendencies towards the simple worship of the patriarchs: "The woman saith to him, Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and you say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith to her, Woman, believe me, the hour comes, when you shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. You worship you know not what: we know what we worship: for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour comes, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. The woman saith to him, I know that Messiah is coming, who is called Christ (Anointed): when he is come, he will tell us all things. Jesus saith to her, I that speak to you am he."

Copies of the Greek translation of the Hebrew sacred books were made under Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria, passed under the name of the Septuagint, and must have been in the possession of the wealthy classes. Quotations are given from it, at any rate, in the letters of the reformers; and the very language of Jesus himself is borrowed from the mystic and visionary Book of Enoch, which gave expression to the future hope of the nation, as we shall see under future heads.

But as the introduction of *Parables* formed a marked characteristic of the Prophet's popular addresses, we shall give a short summary of their general nature. The adoption of instruction by similes, likenesses, parables, or fables forms a distinctive feature of the teaching of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, and was a practice common to almost all the great races and religions of the East,

as we know from Pilpay's Fables in India, Æsop in Greece, and Phædrus in Rome. Such similes were always taken from the ordinary and homely relations of social life, and served to attract the attention and impress instruction on the mind of the listeners, and also to conceal, when necessary, the Prophet's assaults on the corruptions of the priesthood and the popular religion. The whole series arose out of the successive steps of his religious career and development, and may be classed under—

1. The destruction of the old faith—likened to an old garment and cracked bottle (sheep-skin) (Matt. ix.).

2. True and false teachers—likened to blind leaders, shepherds, and hirelings (Matt. xv.; John x.).

3. Symptoms of negligence, decay, disaster, and premonition of future judgment on the old faith—likened to a householder and vineyard (Matt. xxi.); marriage-feast (Matt. xxii.); fig-tree (Matt. xxiv.); householder and thief (Matt. xxiv.); wise and foolish virgins (Matt. xxv.); supper to the poor (Luke xiv.).

4. The propagation of a new faith necessary—likened to a sower (Matt. xiii.); the fishing-net (Matt. xiii.); the householder (Matt. xiii.).

5. The essential nature of pure and undefiled religion —likened to food (Matt. xv.); lost sheep (Matt. xviii.); the king (Matt. xviii.); the householder (Matt. xx.); the two sons (Matt. xxi.); the talents (Matt. xxv.); the judgment-seat (Matt. xxv.); the debtor and creditor (Luke vii.); the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi.); the Pharisee and publican (Luke xviii.); the good Samaritan (Luke x.); the rich man and barns (Luke xii.); the banquet and the poor (Luke xiv.); the Pharisee and the penitent son (Luke xv.); the vine and branch (John xv.); washing the disciples' feet (John xiii.).

6. The value and importance of true religion—the treasurer (Matt. xiii.); the pearl (Matt. xiii.).

7. The gradual progress and development of religious and moral life in individuals and nations—the mustard-seed (Matt. xiii.); the leaven or yeast (Matt. xiii.).

Willing obedience to the law of the "kingdom of God," or the physical, moral, and social government of God in the world, is the beginning, middle, and end of all the Prophet's teaching; but, like the founders of all sects of religion and philosophy, "faith" in your "rabbi" (great one), master (κύριος) or teacher (διδάσκαλος), is required of every disciple. If the leading purpose of the parable, or the subject of instruction, viewed through the medium of the illustration, is kept in view, the interpretation could scarcely be mistaken: *e.g.* take the "kingdom" or government of God, likened to mustard-seed. The germ of the new faith which he planted in the minds of his first disciples in Judæa—one hundred miles long by eighty broad—was carried into nearly every province of the Roman Empire by Paul of Tarsus and his fellow-missionaries, and overshadowed the Christian communities of Europe and Britain. And the period which transpired during the seed-time, bloom, and harvest was eighteen centuries. The idea was simple, but the time of its development was long. Jesus of Galilee and Paul of Tarsus, however, were men of far-seeing minds, who glanced from the beginning to the end of the lifetime of the nations of Babylonia, Assyria, Chaldea, Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, and Judæa.

2. *The Deity* (Heb. Jahveh = Being or Life). What is the dominant idea which pervades the teaching of the Jewish Reformer regarding the Divine nature and character, according to his biographers? "Repent ye (or

consider your conduct), for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," was the leading announcement of John the Baptist; and the very same phrase was taken up and repeated by his successor, Jesus, with slight variations. "Now after John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel" (good news). The phrase, in fact, formed the fundamental religious idea of the Jewish people; the perpetual boast of all the patriarchs, poets, and prophets; the distinctive principle of the "peculiar people," who protested against all the gods of the surrounding nations, the polytheism of the East. "Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth through all generations;" and just because it was a popular phrase in everybody's mouth, it runs through all the speeches and conversations of the Reformer and his disciples. But the old and worn-out formula of the ancient theocracy was displaced in the heart of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee by the favourite phrase, familiar to every father of a family—the sons of Abraham, the father of the faithful, and the highland home of his childhood—"Call no man Master: one is your Father in heaven." And when the enthusiastic Prophet stood on the Mount of Blessings, pointing contrast after contrast between the old and new faith of the day: "You have heard that it has been said, You shall love your neighbour, and hate your enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that you may be the children of your Father who is in heaven: for he makes his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on

the unjust. Be you therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." We need not wonder that a woman cried out: "Blessed is the womb that bare you, and the paps which you have sucked," when they felt themselves to be sons and daughters of such a Father in heaven.

The homely (home-like) phrase comes naturally from his heart from his earliest childhood, and drops from his lips at the hour of death on the cross. The first words which fell on the ears of his anxious parents, who lost him in the caravan, and found him sitting amongst the doctors in the Temple, were, "Did you not know that I must be about my Father's business?" His Father in heaven is uppermost in every speech. The ruling sentiment of his whole life was, "I seek not my own will, but the will of the Father who sent me."

Such is the divine fatherhood, the spirit of Galilean independence and brotherhood, which lies at the basis of the reformed faith of ancient Judaism. Accordingly, when the announcement of his own mother and brethren was made in the midst of a public address, he stretched forth his hands towards his disciples, and said, "Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother."

But the very simplicity and familiarity of his style laid him open to attack on more than one occasion. *E.g.*, one day Jesus walked in Solomon's Porch. "Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him, How long dost thou make us to doubt? If you be the Christ (Anointed), tell us plainly. Jesus answered them, I told you, and you believed not: the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me. I and my Father are one" (ἐν), one in will and affection, as "Paul and Apollos are one,"

(1 Cor. iii. 8). Here the claim of possessing the same spirit as his Father was justified by a reference to a Hebrew poem (Ps. lxxxii.), in which the poetic parallel renders "gods" by "children of the Most High." "I have said, You are gods," *i.e.* "all of you are children of the Most High."

And the religious childlikeness of his character, deepened by the consciousness and responsibility of his divine mission, is specially recorded by his biographers. "And it came to pass in those days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God" (Luke vi. 12). "And it came to pass, that, as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Master, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.

The "Form of Prayer" prescribed to the disciples of Jesus is referred to by his biographers (Matt. vi. 9, Luke xi. 1, John xvi. 23), in accordance with the common practice of the age adopted by the leading Rabbis of the popular sects. Any one desirous of verifying the practice of the age may find the evidence by consulting the English translation of the "Blessings" (Berakhoth) of the Talmud, in which reference is made to such prayers, drawn up "in the name," or by the sanction and authority of, the Jewish Rabbis.

N.B.—Nothing more than a simple contrast between the divine "Sovereignty" and "Paternity," with their associated characters of "justice" and "generosity," the two fundamental ideas which dominated the religious sentiments of the old and new faith of Judaism, has been attempted in this place. The full consideration of Hebrew and Christian theology, the genesis and development of the "divine conceptions" during the tribal, monarchical, and provincial periods of the kingdom of Israel, would require a volume. But in spite of the great importance

of the subject, we must content ourselves with the mere statement that the origin of our modern Calvinism and Arminianism, Theism and Universalism, sprung from the selection of the one in preference to the other metaphor.

3. *The Holy Temple and Levitical Ritual.*—What is the nature of divine worship—the right method of expressing the deep-felt sense of divine worth, the supreme majesty, reverence, and gratitude springing from the heart and soul of our common humanity? is the fundamental, perennial, persistent, and ever-recurring question of all prophets, poets, and philosophers in every age and clime. And the soul of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee was saturated with the spirit of all the patriarchs, poets, and prophets recorded in their sacred books, from Moses to Gamaliel, and from Adam, the son of God, to Abraham, the father of the faithful, and friend of God. The style varies, but the question is always the same as in Micah's age: "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God?" Accordingly, the standard of all his religious and moral judgments is based on the creed of creeds—"the loveliness of perfect deeds," done out of fellow-feeling to suffering humanity: "Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me" (Matt. xxv. 40). When he was taunted with sitting at meat with publicans and sinners in Matthew's house, the answer leapt to his mouth: "Go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice: for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." When "he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of

God is within you." The divine government set up in the heart was the true kingdom of God.

Time after time every opportunity was snatched for the purpose of repeating the genial lesson of sympathy for sinning and suffering humanity to his fellow-men, distracted by the clashing sects of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The woman caught in adultery was hurried into his presence by the crowds, ready to stone her to death by the law of Moses: "What sayest thou? He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." The Pharisees and the female victim of society —types of the fortunate and fallen classes of every community—stand face to face before each other, in the graphic picture of his biographers for Christian instruction and example; and not a single trait of the splendid original must be touched by a modern hand. We refer to Simon and "the woman in the city, who was a sinner" (Luke vii. 37).

The only sacrifice required at his hand in every instance was the sacrifice of sin; the sole worship, the love of righteousness (or justice), mercy, and humility. Consequently the poor widow who cast into the treasury of the Temple "all the living that she had"—two mites—is dowered with greater praise than the offerings of all the rich men who poured in the "tithe" out of their abundance (Luke xxi.). And the substitution of paternal generosity in the stead of sovereign justice—the royal law of love for judicial retribution and legal vengeance, which distinguished the old and new faith of Judaism—was taken from the heart of the second edition of the law of Moses (Deut. vi. 4). The narrative of Mark gives the grandeur and simplicity of the conversation which took place on the occasion with great vividness (Mark xii.).

The ten words of Moses were reduced to two, justice to God and man, by his contemporary, Philo of Alexandria. Justice and pity also summed up the religious doctrines of the 4000 Essenes on the banks of Jordan. All honour and gratitude to the reformers of ancient Mosaism and Judaism, who sprung from various centres of religious distribution; took the heart and soul out of the costly and cumbrous ceremonialism of the Jewish Temple and ritual; and, lastly, condensed the moral law, or law of human nature, as was done by Paul in one word—"Love is the fulfilment of the law"—for the inspiration of universal humanity.

Such being the critical, analytic, and profound character of the lofty ideals of the religious reformation of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, can any student of human nature be surprised that his prophetic thunders burst on the head of the transparent hypocrisies and perfunctory performances of the traditional customs of Solomon's Temple and Levitical ritual? Hear his own critical contrasts, scathing and satirical comments on the Pharisees of Jerusalem and every age: "When you pray, you shall not be as the hypocrites: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Enter into your closet, pray to your Father which is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret shall reward you openly" (Matt. vi.). And the terrific knell, "woe" on "woe"—the accumulated indignation of all the prophets, which was the death-warrant of the ghastly skeleton of dying Mosaism—will ring its threnody for ever and ever (Matt. xxiii.).

Once, and once only, the temple of his body was compared to the Temple of Jerusalem by the Reformer himself (John ii.). But the living altar of the heart of humanity,

not made with hands, rose out of the ashes of the Temple of Solomon, and finally displaced the tedious and bloody Levitical ritual.

N.B.—The growth of the Tabernacle and Temple ritual during the tribal, monarchical, and provincial periods has been already referred to; and if the historical student follow the comparative method, and consider the prodigious accretions and corruptions of ancient Christianity borrowed from Rome, Greece, and the Orient, he will find no difficulty in comprehending the reformation effected by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee.

4. *The Jewish Priesthood and People.*—"Like priest like people" was the saying of the prophet Hosea; and the chronic state of political and religious faction—Herodians and Asmoneans, Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenians and Galileans; Romans, Greeks, Jews, and Samaritans—had burst out in periodic insurrection since the time of the Maccabees (B.C. 165), and stained the Holy Land and the sacred Temple itself with blood and slaughter. But nothing less than the furious struggle of a desperate and dying people, written in blood by Josephus himself, can paint the deathbed scenes and burning of Jerusalem by Titus. The very arms of the Roman Government, the royal eagle of the standard, placed on the gate of the Temple, must be pulled down. Bands of robbers and brigands scoured the country, and the story of the good Samaritan, who poured wine and oil into the wounds of the traveller left in his blood by the wayside, was a common occurrence. Eight hundred men hung on crosses might have been seen at one time. The publicans who farmed the Roman tribute tortured the last drachma from the Palestinian provincials. One Zaccheus, who joined the ranks of the Galilean Reformer, under the consciousness of his past

robberies, cried out: "Behold, Master, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold." The very mint, anise, and cummin of the common people were tithed and taxed by the greedy priesthood, who "strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel," and omitted the weightier matters of the law—judgment, mercy, and truth. The trembling parents who lived under such a reign of terror hesitated to give evidence regarding their own children before the tribunal of the rigid Pharisees, and said, "He is of age, ask him." And any man who confessed that the Galilean Reformer was sent of heaven, and "anointed" of God, was thrust out of the synagogue. True, the priests and Levites sat on Moses' seat, but they had taken away the "key of knowledge;" they entered not in themselves, and those that were entering they hindered. Just such times as in the age of Wicklif and his "poor priests,"—peasants' wars, the publication of Parliamentary Acts for the death and burning of heretics. The Smithfield fires and Bartholomew massacres of the Roman Empire came later, at the burning of Rome under Nero.

5. *The Jewish Sabbath.*—Like all Oriental nations, the social as well as the sacred festivals of the Jewish people were hallowed by the offering of sacrifices, and accompanied by fasting, singing, and dancing, more or less of a religious character—banquets, in fact, in the presence of their national and tutelar Deity, Jahveh, the source of life and Lord of hosts (stars). The great festivals of the nation were:—(1) The anniversary of the Passover (April), which commemorated their emancipation from Egyptian bondage and the declaration of national independence; (2) the Feast of Pentecost (the fiftieth),

seven weeks later (June), was the national harvest-home and day of thanksgiving; and (3) the Feast of Tabernacles or Tents (October) was the day of thanksgiving for the national vintage, and associated with the nomadic life of their forefathers before their settlement in the land of promise.

Several other fasts and festivals connected with the history of the people were held annually: the Feast of Purim (lots), connected with the salvation of the Jews in the days of Queen Esther; the feasts and sacrifices at the appearance of the new moons; the fast in memory of the capture of Jerusalem, the burning and purification of the Temple, etc.; and the weekly Sabbath (rest) every seventh day. The sabbatical year of jubilee, of course, could only be held at the close of fifty years.

The traditional customs which had gathered round each of these national institutions gave rise to a complicated code of casuistry, more or less rigid or elastic, in accordance with the well-known tenets of the popular sects of Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenians, and Galileans. Endless permissions and prohibitions tripped up the tender conscience at every step from the cradle to the grave, as we learn from the Talmud—the great storehouse of Levitical and rabbinical commentaries on the law and ritual. The Sabbath-day's journey, so many furlongs, was laid down by measure. No fire must be kindled on the Sabbath, and therefore all cooking ought to take place on the day of preparation. The Temple service and sacrifice, of course, were placed under the special patronage of the King of heaven, and the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee boldly cut the puzzling Gordian knots with his relentless sword. Rubbing the chaff from the wheat, on the part of his disciples passing

through a field on the Sabbath, was attacked by the rabbinical lawyers and casuists, and defended by their Master, by the citation of David satisfying his hunger by eating the sacred shewbread, which it was only lawful for the priests to eat. And the fundamental doctrine which he laid down on that occasion—the lordship of mankind over all positive institutions appointed for their benefit in Church and State—is still controverted by modern Christians who cling to the letter of ancient or the spirit of reformed Judaism. "But if you had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, you would not have condemned the guiltless. For the 'Son of man' (man) is Lord even of the Sabbath day" (Matt. xii.). The sweeping power and influence of this fundamental principle was carried to its ultimate results by Paul, the Roman reformer and his spiritual successor.

The subject of sacred seasons, based on the lunar division of the month, and the seven planets worshipped in the East, will sink into insignificance as soon as the important discovery lately made from the brick libraries of Babylon is generally known, that Abraham, the "Father of the Faithful," brought the worship of the seventh day along with him from "Ur of the Chaldees."

6. *Heaven and Good Angels—Hell, Evil Spirits and Demons.*—When Moses ground the Egyptian bull to powder, and turned the heaven of all the gods into darkness, he must also have rejected the "Hall of two Truths" in the under world; for total silence is preserved in the Pentateuch regarding the existence and nature of a future life and world. "Enoch walked with God, and God took him." Glimpses, however, of some unknown and invisible world are given. The chariot of the Sun-god, horses of fire and chariot of fire, carried

off Elijah; and the under world of Job is a "land of darkness, and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness."

All the details of personal inspection, one would think, are crowded into the descriptions of the fantastic and visionary Book of Enoch. Here the visions are ascribed to Enoch the prophet, long before the birth of Paul, who was favoured with a visit to Paradise in a dream or ecstasy—whether in the body or out of the body, he could not say: "After this I beheld the secrets of the heavens and of paradise, according to its divisions; and of human action, as they weigh it there, in balances. I saw the habitations of the elect, and the habitations of the holy. And there my eyes beheld all the sinners who denied the Lord of glory, and whom they were expelling from thence, and dragging away as they stood there; no punishment proceeding against them from the Lord of spirits" (chap. xli.). And if we may judge from the similarity of style, and the mention of the division and the weighing of souls in balances, all these descriptions of heaven and hell must have been modelled on the Hall of two Truths, depicted on the Egyptian temples, where souls are weighed in scales, and rewarded or punished according to the deeds done in the body. The garden of the righteous and the tree of knowledge passes before his eyes (chap. xxiv.). But the magnitude and magnificence of the palace of the King of heaven passed all description: "Its floor was on fire; above were lightning and agitated stars, while its roof exhibited a blazing fire. Attentively I surveyed it, and saw that it contained an exalted throne. One great in glory sat upon it, whose robe was brighter than the sun, and whiter than snow;

no angel was capable of penetrating to view the face of him, the glorious and effulgent; nor could any mortal behold him; a fire was flaming round him" (chap. xiv.).

And the horrors of "the furnace of blazing fire" were seen in "a deep valley burning with fire." "And there my eyes beheld the instruments which they were making, fetters of iron without weight, that the Lord of spirits may be avenged of them for their crimes, because they became ministers of Satan, and seduced those who dwelt upon earth" (chap. liii.).

The bottomless pit—the great abyss prepared for the devil and all his angels, and the wicked children of men deluded by his wiles and stratagems on earth—lies on the other side. A spacious hall, built with stones of crystal, under the earth, the very "chasm by water, and by light above it" mentioned in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, appears in chapter xxii. His communications regarding the watchers of heaven, the holy angels and messengers of Jahveh, who were frequently sent to earth, and ate roast kid of the goats with the fathers of the faithful, are important. "But you from the beginning were made spiritual, possessing a life which is eternal, and not subject to death for ever. Therefore I made not wives for you, because, being spiritual, your dwelling is in heaven." For when the "elect One"—the future deliverer of the Jews—shall "sit on his throne, the mountains shall skip like rams, and the hills shall leap like young sheep satiated with milk; and all the righteous shall become angels in heaven" (chap. l.). And we should not omit the existence of a "middle state," occupied by the souls of the dead until the great day of final judgment (chap. xxii.), which passed into the theological systems of ancient Christianity.

Such, then, are the visions of the Future state of rewards and punishments, blended with the reign of a future deliverer of the conquered nation, floating before the minds of the Jews in the Augustan age of the Roman Empire. And the whole series seem to have been adopted, in the teaching of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee. Even when a thunderstorm burst out in the midst of his address, and the people said an angel spake to him, he appropriates the providential "sign" (regarded as the voice of God—Job xl., Jos. *Antiq.* xviii. 8) as a sanction of his own doctrine, and replied, "This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes." A few additional particulars regarding Jewish demonology, magic, and witchcraft, can also be gleaned from Josephus the historian, as well as the lives of the reformers of Judaism. When Herod Antipas heard that Jesus had succeeded to the mission of his cousin, John the Baptist, he at once said, "He is John the Baptist risen from the dead,"—a popular superstition akin to the opinion of Josephus that "those called demons are no other than the wicked spirits that enter those who are alive, and kill them, unless they obtain some help against them." And the specific root capable of driving out the demons is mentioned. Not only so, but he witnessed Eleazar, who enjoyed the benefit of Solomon's incantations and exorcisms, expel demons in the presence of Vespasian and his sons and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers, with the aid of that root in a ring, and verify their exit from the demoniacs by overturning a basin of water as deftly as in a modern spiritual *séance.*

The common practice of the age was followed by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee; and when they taunted him with the sneer, "This fellow does not cast out demons

but by 'Beelzebub, the prince of demons," he rejoined, "By whom do your children cast them out?" Several instances of dreams, ecstasies, ghosts, apparitions or epiphanies (ἐπὶ-φάνεια=appearance), and actual conversation of God with man are also mentioned by Josephus. Accordingly we need not be surprised that similar occurrences are met with in the biographies of the Reformer of Judaism. During the course of his narrative regarding the complicated plots, murders, and intrigues of Herod's family, "the ghosts of Alexander and Aristobulus go round all the palace, and become the inquisitors and discoverers of what could not otherwise be found out, and brought secrets as were freest from suspicion to be examined" (*Wars*, xxxi.). The surrender of Josephus himself, the general of the Jewish army, to Vespasian the Roman emperor, is ascribed to an "ecstasy" of divine inspiration; and the prophetic announcement, "Thou, O Vespasian, art Cæsar and Emperor, thou and this thy son," uttered on the occasion, was duly verified. His encomium of John Hyrcanus is certainly extraordinary: "He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world—the government of his nation, and the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the Deity conversed with him, and he was not ignorant of anything that was to come afterward." But such special celestial favours could not well be questioned by a people who believed that Moses, their legislator, spoke "face to face with Jahveh as a man speaketh with his friend."

When we turn from the consideration of these social phenomena, familiar at least to the imagination if not the experience of the Jewish people of the age, we are not inclined to question the authenticity of the occurrence of similar phenomena—the epiphany, appearances or appari-

tions, of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee to the minds both of his male and female disciples, in the ecstatic, hyper-æsthetic, and hyper-magnetic state into which they must have been thrown by the saddening and harrowing events of his sudden arrest, trial, crucifixion, and hurried burial in the garden of Joseph of Arimathæa. Some of them, for aught we know, in spite of the literary form of representation, may have occurred in dreams or visions of the night. One thing is evident to all historical critics—all their glorious hopes of a coming kingdom were dashed to the ground, and their minds thrown into a state of brooding fermentation. The terrible catastrophe is told, in his own style, by each of his biographers. Here is Luke's graphic account: "And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and said to them, Peace be unto you. But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit. . . . And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb. And he took it, and did eat before them." This is John's: "Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus, and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had so said, he showed unto them his hands and his side,"—and on another occasion to Thomas. If any reliance can be placed on these statements—and we have no counter-evidence—his biographers talk of their crucified Master who had risen from the dead as if he had become "like an angel;" was possessed of a "spiritual body" (πνεῦμα σωματικὸν); could enter a house with locked doors, and eat broiled fish as the angels ate kid in Abraham's tent. Be these facts or fables, dreams, visions, apparitions, or ecstasies, as they may, such optical illusions

or delusions still occur in our modern experience, and form the subject of psychological investigation; and we have no intention of quarrelling with the poetic vesture of their final statement, any more than with the fiery chariot of Elijah. "And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight" (Acts i.). His disciples at least believed that the "spiritual body" of their Master ascended to his Father and their Father in heaven. Who can prove a negative?

7. *Pre-visions.*—Given now the long perspective of the nation's life, dating from the "Father of the Faithful," down through Moses—the emancipation from Egyptian slavery—Joshua and national independence—the brilliant period of David and Solomon—the sunset in Babylon—the dark, stormy, and cloudy evening beneath the Persian, Macedonian, and Roman horizons, tormented by the boding spectres of visionary seers and martyred Messiahs—brooding over the ancient rolls of Daniel, penned in the age of the Maccabees (B.C. 165), and the Visions of Enoch,—kings starting up on every hand from the highlands of Galilee to the lowlands of Jerusalem, in the Augustan age, when all the nations of the habitable globe—Europe, Asia, and Africa—were brought under the dominion of the Roman Empire:—we ask, Can any historical student of the Augustan age, familiar with the chronic state of political insurrection depicted in the pages of Josephus, the Jewish historian, be surprised that Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, should have closed the parable of the vineyard (the favourite type and figure of the nation), crowned with the stoning and martyrdom of the prophets, with the deep-felt assurance, "Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof"? (Matt. ch. xxi.).

His reported conversation with Peter, James, and John regarding Moses and Elijah, their early legislator and reformer, leaves no doubt of his thorough acquaintance with the chequered history of his own nation; and if Josephus favoured Vespasian and Titus with a second edition of the history of the Jews in his *Antiquities* and *Wars,* and asserts in his address to his fellow-countrymen on the walls of Jerusalem, during the progress of the last siege: "Evident it is on all hands that fortune is on all hands given over to them (the Romans), and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy." We have no hesitation in adding that the Galilean Prophet ultimately adopted the same decided opinion. All the glowing descriptions and imagery found in Matthew (chap. xxiv.) are borrowed from the well-known condition of a besieged city, as well as from Daniel and the Book of Enoch; accordingly he appropriates the familiar proverb, "Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together,"—evidently referring to the Roman standard—and concludes, "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled." We do not pretend to lift the veil of the apocalyptic style of the mystical visions, blended from the Book of Enoch with his historical previsions, and repeated in Jude. Time after time, as he passed from town to town, tracked by the spies of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and observed the distracted state of the population, all the fond hopes of national independence, cherished in accordance with his native Galileanism, must have vanished in the storm and stress of his religious crusades. Viewed in this light, the single but pathetic notice of the sorrowing sacrifice of his early Galileanism is deeply impressive: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou

that killèst the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" (Matt. xxiii., Luke xix.).

And when we are reminded further of the incidental allusion made to his disciples regarding his future intentions—"I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now"—the question arises in our minds, If the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee had not been martyred, would he have continued his reformation in connection with the Jewish Church—persisted as Peter, James, and John did, in extending the sect of Galileans, or laid the foundation, as Paul did, of a new faith beyond the limits of ancient Judaism? All such questions end in bootless speculation; accordingly we leave them among the insoluble problems of humanity. But we do know that Peter, James, and John persisted in connection with the Jewish Church; and as we have no intention of drawing a "Literary Portrait" of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, surrounded with the halo of all the conventional characteristics, we shall pass at once to the second phase of Jewish Christianity, under the leadership of Peter and James. John will follow under the third phase of Oriental Christianity.

CHAPTER III.

SECOND PHASE OF JEWISH CHRISTIANITY UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PETER AND JAMES.

Our authorities during this period are Mark's biography, written, according to Eusebius, at the dictation of Peter;

Peter's own letters, addressed to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia; the letter of James addressed to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad; and the historian Josephus.

The words of Eusebius regarding Mark are: "John the Presbyter also said this Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, whatsoever he recorded he wrote with great accuracy, but not, however, in the order in which it was spoken or done by our Master, for he neither heard nor followed our Master; but as before said, he was in company with Peter, who gave him such instruction as was necessary, but not to give a history of our Master's discourses. Wherefore Mark has not erred in anything by writing some things as he has recorded them; for he was carefully attentive to one thing, not to pass by anything that he heard, or to state anything falsely in these accounts." Accordingly the biography of Mark commences without any genealogy or angelic announcement, but with the mission of John the Baptist, the discipleship of Jesus, his fasting and temptation by Satan in the wilderness, and the prophetic career of Jesus himself and his disciples from the moment of his cousin John's imprisonment and death at the hands of Herod Antipas; and, if we can rely on the discovery of the Vatican MSS., with the omission of the scenes of the resurrection in the last chapter (ch. xvi.). But in reality the omission is of no importance to the defenders of Jewish Christianity, for Peter believed that his "spiritual body" was exalted to an honourable seat at the right hand of God, along with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven. Not a single word is said regarding the "Primacy of Peter," and the presentation of the keys of the kingdom

of heaven, which formed the basis of the Roman "Papacy," —the See of the Pope (Papa) and Father of ancient Christendom, crowned with a triple tiara, significant of dominion in heaven, earth, and hell. The directly contrary doctrine, in fact, is laid down in Peter's own letter to his fellow-disciples scattered throughout Western Asia; for he carries their minds back to the Exodus (xix.) and emancipation of their fathers from Egyptian slavery; and claims liberty, fraternity, and equality for the whole Christian brotherhood founded by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light"; "You are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God, according to his anointed (χριστὸς) Jesus."

The famous passage in Matthew (xvi.) then, containing the pun on the word Peter (πέτρος and πέτρα = rock, and little stone), must be rejected as the interpolation of an ambitious ecclesiastic who wished the sanction of Scripture in favour of the primacy of Rome asserted at a very early date (Matt. xvi.). Such pious frauds were quite common, according to Eusebius; and the false Donations of Constantine and the Decretals of Isidore, lately crowned with Papal Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception, have ended in ecclesiastical senility and the total loss of the usurped temporal sovereignty. The facilities for the perpetration of such literary frauds in the case of Matthew's biography were provided by the necessity of translation, as we learn from Eusebius: "Matthew composed his history in the Hebrew dialect, and every one translated it as he was able."

Moreover, not one tittle of evidence for Purgatory can be derived from the allusion to the "spirits in prison," the sons of violence and disobedience placed under the verdict of divine condemnation for 120 years during the preparation of the ark by Noah, who preached to them according to "the spirit of Jesus" (1 Peter ii.). The second letter ascribed to Peter was placed in the *Index Expurgatorius* for centuries, although well known and approved by many Christians. But as our rabbinical doctors still differ regarding the nature of the great conflagration and the new heavens and new earth, we need not hesitate to relegate the mysteries—which were as "hard to be understood" by Peter himself as some of his beloved brother Paul's—to the class of apocalyptic visions found in the Book of Enoch. Be assured, Peter's hearty encouragements and consolations imparted to his suffering and persecuted fellow-Christians in Western Asia lost not one whit of their fragrance under the mystic canopy of "the new heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness," destined for Christians "one day,"—if not now, at least 1000 years hence—either on earth or in heaven—

> "Hope springs eternal in the human breast;
> Man never is, but always to be blest."

Again, not a single allusion is made to the controversy waged between Peter and Paul regarding the Law of Moses by the non-Jewish converts to the new faith, which gave rise to the first Christian Council at Jerusalem. The only references made to the subject are found in the Acts of the Apostles, ascribed to Luke, the physician of Paul, and Paul's own letters. But, to say the least of it, Luke's biography, as well as the Acts of the Apostles, in spite of his statement that he had made thorough inquiry into the origin of the Christian faith, must be received *cum*

grano salis. Moreover, he was not one of the first disciples—not an "eye-witness"—consequently his evidence is only second-hand.

The first address to the people, delivered seven weeks (Pentecost) after the martyrdom of Jesus in the Temple courts by Peter, is thoroughly consistent with his previous exposition of the Galilean faith, the spiritual house and brotherhood founded by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee. And he rebuked the charge of drunkenness hurled by the mockers against his spiritual enthusiasm by the announcement that it was the fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams. And on my servants and on my hand-maidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit, and they shall prophesy." No plainer statement of the second phase of Christianity could be formed than the well-studied speech, supported by quotations from the Jewish prophets, which he poured into the ears of "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians," the motley assemblage of home and foreign Jews who regarded the Temple of Solomon as the sole centre of their religious worship: "Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as you yourselves also know: him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands

have crucified and slain: whom God has raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it. . . . This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses. Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear. . . . Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom you have crucified, both Master and Anointed" (χριστὸς, Acts ii.). And 3000 men forsook the ranks of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and enrolled themselves under the banner of the Galileans—the new sect "everywhere spoken against."

The same fellowship and friendship symbolised by "eating bread together"—the common test of Oriental hospitality, peculiar to the first brotherhood of "the twelve" disciples—the same common fund, as in the days when Judas had carried the bag of the new-born sect, is continued. But we have no reason to suppose that the 3000 souls added at the anniversary of the vintage formed themselves into a cœnobite or co-operative association, like the 4000 Essenians on the banks of Jordan; we are told, however, that the distribution of the common fund was made "as every man had need," and that by deacons (διακονὸς = servant) full of the spirit of holiness and wisdom. Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch, were chosen for the purpose of preventing the dissatisfaction which sprang up amongst the recipients of Christian benevolence belonging to home and foreign races.

The most distinguished member of this benevolence committee—Stephen by name—fell an early victim to the fiery passions of the Temple priesthood, and won the

crown of the second martyrdom of the Galileans, on the charge of "blasphemy against Moses and against God, the holy place, and the law and the customs."

The next time Peter appears in Luke's history is on the housetop of Simon the tanner, in prayer at Joppa, the seaport of Jerusalem, and in presence of a vision of "heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth; wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter; kill, and eat. But Peter said, Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is common or unclean. And the voice spake unto him again the second time, What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." But we need not quote the whole passage, including the angel sent to Cornelius, a Roman military officer. The result of the double vision was Peter's conclusion,—"Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."

Such is the last notice of Peter in the Acts of the Apostles, and the reception of Galilean converts into the ranks of the Galilean sect; and Cornelius the "just man," must have conformed to the Temple customs of the law of Moses, under the leadership of Peter, James, and John. Seventeen years afterwards, as we learn from his letter to the Galatians, Paul withstood Peter to the face in Antioch on the question of the perpetual obligation of the law of Moses and its imposition on the Roman converts, ultimately referred to the Council of Jerusalem, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xv.); and the temporary compromise between Jewish and Roman Chris-

tians was embodied in a letter and sent to Antioch. "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves ye shall do well. Fare ye well." We say temporary compromise, for the Second Phase of Christianity perished at the destruction of the Temple (A.D. 70), and survived only in the petty Ebionite or Nazarite societies strewed over the land of Palestine; and finally dwindled into an heretical sect, in the estimation of the "Broad Church" and cosmopolitan Christians of the Roman Empire.

No contradiction whatever to Peter's opinion is found in the letter of James, the brother of the Prophet, addressed to the twelve tribes, which Martin Luther termed an epistle of straw, because he could not reconcile it with Paul's theology. And for a very good reason; James accepted, and Paul rejected the Levitical law of Moses, as we shall see hereafter.

The sole aim of the letter is to pour oil into the wounds, and new wine into the hearts, of his fellow-disciples—"the poor of this world"—oppressed by the rich men, who drag them before the judgment-seats on account of their new faith, and "blaspheme that worthy name by which they are called." And the delicacy of James is remarkable; for he does not exalt his brother the Prophet to a loftier position than all his predecessors, but gives the simple counsel, "Take, my brethren, the prophets, who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience. Behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy."

The practical advice, "Confess your faults one to another," and "Pray for one another, that ye may be healed," was seized by the ambitious priesthood of the Roman Church for the establishment of "auricular confession"—that terrible engine of torture and inquisition which dragged the secrets of personal, domestic, political, and religious life into the courts of the Church, and held the people in subjection and slavery to ecclesiastical caprice. Thank heaven, our modern Reformers proclaimed liberty to the captives, and burst the fetters riveted on the souls of Christians for centuries. The simple faith of James needs no exposition. All the rabbinical and sectarian distinctions of the age are ignored and swept aside by the stern yet "good Samaritan." "Abraham believed God, and it was reputed to him for righteousness," and he was called the "friend of God." The complete theology of ancient and reformed Judaism was condensed by him into a terse and handy creed for the "poor of this world": "Pure religion, and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." James too sealed his faith with his blood at the hands of Herod.

The Revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) *of St. John.*—The last work which sprang up under the influence of Jewish Christianity was the Apocalypse (unveiling), and belongs to the same class as Daniel and the Book of Enoch; and, in common with Eusebius, we are inclined to ascribe it, not to John the beloved disciple, but to John the Presbyter, both of whose tombs existed at Ephesus. The whole range of mystical scenery and imagery lay ready to his hands; and the only originality of John's Apocalypse lay in the novel composition and arrangement of his

series of visions. After all, the programme of what is "shortly to come to pass" is very simple, and the key to his Revelations is furnished by John himself, when he declares that, "spiritually," the Great City (the centre of the government referred to) is Sodom, and Egypt, and Babylon. Accordingly, he buries the Roman government, who crucified the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee and persecuted his followers, beneath the accumulated plagues —fire, brimstone, and blood—which fell to the lot of its political predecessors.

The mystic procession of events which conducts the destruction of the old heavens and earth—*i.e.*, the religion and government of the Roman Empire—takes place under the guise of: (1) the opening of a roll sealed with seven seals; (2) the sounding of trumpets; (3) the outpouring of seven vials of God's wrath; with seven episodes during the progress of the three successive periods. And the social and religious revolution, or the creation of a "new heavens and new earth," closes with the descent of the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, like a bride adorned for her husband.

All this splendid programme forms a mere piece of literary plagiarism, constructed like an old mosaic on the pattern of his apocalyptic models. The sealed roll was taken from Ezekiel: "And when I looked, behold, an hand was sent unto me; and, lo, a roll of a book was therein; and he spread it before me: and it was written within and without." Trumpets sounding the onset of war could be found *passim*. So could the vials of oil, odours, or wrath; and the bride is the well-known simile for the people of Israel, who lay their offerings before his throne in the Temple or house of God in the Holy City of Jerusalem. Rome, the city of seven hills, of course was known

to all the world, but the number of seven kings was not yet fulfilled. Five were fallen, and one is—fixes, most probably, the date of its composition—Augustus Cæsar, Tiberius, Caius Cæsar Caligula, T. Claudius Cæsar, Nero Claudius Cæsar (A.D. 54-68). Can any critic be astonished that a Jewish Christian,—dwelling in Ephesus, where the crowd bawled down Paul in the town-hall with the cry "Great is Diana of Ephesus" for a whole hour—swelling with hot indignation against the popular superstitions, should have combined the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, as well as of their Egyptian and Babylonian oppressors, and predicted the same fate to the Roman government which followed in their footsteps; re-echoed the triumphant song of Moses and the shout of Israel, "Babylon is fallen"? Have not our modern Protestants adopted the same policy, and crushed their Popish persecutors beneath the whole series of Divine judgments?

Whatever be the opinions of our latest critics—and their name is legion—the lovely ideal of Paradise restored in a "new heaven and new earth" eclipsed the primitive tabernacle or tent instituted by Moses in accordance with the "pattern" received on Mount Sinai, cheered and charmed the hearts of Christians for centuries. But John the Presbyter saw no temple in it; for the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee made all the Christian brotherhood "kings and priests to God the Father."

The apocalyptic author was a true "Galilean," and still dreamed of the fulfilment of the "Hope of Israel," as Jews still dreamed in the last days of the siege of the holy city of Jerusalem—a fact confirmed by Josephus. "For a false Prophet," says he, "was the occasion of the people's destruction, who made a public proclamation in

the city that very day, that God commanded them to get upon the Temple, and the city should receive miraculous signs of the Deliverer."

Note.—The pun on Peter, referred to at page 72, is not found in Tatian's *Diatessaron*, or Harmony of the Four Gospels, lately discovered. (See Prof. Harnack, *Contemp. Rev.*, Aug. 1886.)

CHAPTER IV.

THIRD PHASE.—ORIENTAL CHRISTIANITY,—ACCORDING TO THE LIFE OF THE PROPHET OF NAZARETH OF GALILEE, ASCRIBED TO JOHN, THE BELOVED DISCIPLE, AS WELL AS HIS THREE LETTERS.

THE "Life" and "Light" of Jesus, according to John, belongs to a later stage of religious development, and reveals the powerful influence of its Oriental origin and environment—the renowned city of Ephesus, where the tomb of two Johns existed in the days of Eusebius, the historian of the Christian Church. And the source of the striking difference between the several biographers is accounted for in the following manner: "But John, last of all, that what had reference to the body in the Gospel of our Saviour was sufficiently detailed, and being encouraged by his familiar friends, and urged by the Spirit, he wrote a Spiritual Gospel."

The Spiritual Gospel—good news, or welcome message—then forms the striking and salient characteristic of the fourth biography ascribed to John the beloved disciple—the exile of Patmos and Ephesus, martyred in boiling oil, who inspired his disciples with the purest essence and incense of the new faith—at once the pure religion of the holy heart and healthy (*heilig*) humanity.

The head and front of it is inscribed with pure Alexandrianism or Philonianism, borrowed from the allegorical exposition of the Book of Wisdom, Philo, and the "sweetest of all writers," his Hellenic master, Plato—the Lover of Wisdom, and the Reformer of Athens. "In the beginning was the spoken and unspoken Word (Λόγος—*Ratio* and *Oratio*=Reason, Intelligence, and Speech), and Reason was in God, and God was Reason; the same was in the beginning in God. All things were created by it, and without it was not any thing created that was created. Life was in it, and the Life was the Light of men; and the Light shone in the darkness did not receive it."

Such is the philosophical or mystic introduction—the spiritual genealogy of the Life and Light of men—the divine offspring of God (the source of life), who breathed into the nostrils of man, and he became a living soul, and endowed with understanding—"the Candle of the Lord," or Divine Light. "Accordingly, we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren"—the members of the spiritual brotherhood founded by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee. "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them who believe on his name, who were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

Only a few words are spent on the career of his cousin, John the Baptist. But the high compliment paid to the Galilean Prophet by his predecessor is specially noted. "The next day John sees Jesus coming to him, and says, Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world"—the soul of innocence itself, like the lamb in the morning and evening sacrifice—without spot or blemish, which should be offered to God. But the express statement of the author removes all doubt on this sub-

ject: "For he whom God has sent speaks the words of God; for God gives not the Spirit by measure to him" (chap. iii.).

All his future Life and Letters are consistently devoted to the exposition of this "Spiritual Gospel," specially adapted to "enlighten" the converts and disciples secured to the new faith from his Asiatic environment. And the special adaptation cannot be fully appreciated without some acquaintance with the state of religious and philosophical opinion in John's centre of religious distribution. What then formed the peculiar state of religion and philosophical opinion round the city of Ephesus and Western Asia during the course of the Augustan age of the Roman Empire? To be brief—a motley compound and collision of all the Chaldean, Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, Hellenic, and Roman religions and philosophies scattered over the surface of the Roman Empire from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, and from the Mediterranean to the Tigris and Euphrates—from Smyrna and Ephesus, the eyes of Greece, to Babylon and Nineveh, the "Gate of God" (Babel), concentrated in the famous museum of Alexandria, the noted emporium of the science and commerce of the age, and specially sifted, analysed, and sublimated in the Platonic Eclecticism and Gnosticism of Philo's allegorical expositions of the Law of Moses—we say Platonic Eclecticism and Gnosticism—the pure Theism and purified ethics strewed over the voluminous pages of Plato and Philo, and passing current in all the schools of philosophy in Rome, Athens, Alexandria, and Ephesus. And now since the sacred books of the East have come into our possession, we find that the current religious phrases of Hindu Brahmanism and Parsism were blended with the Hellenic Philonianism of the age for the instruction of the "enlightened" disciples of "Spiritual Christianity."

"You must be born again," or the "twice-born" Brahman, was quite familiar to the minds of the Jewish merchants who carried on commerce with India by the ordinary caravan route through Damascus to the seaports of the Mediterranean. Light and Darkness were the well-known symbols of the divine and diabolic powers of Good and Evil, who ruled the world according to the Zendavesta, under the title of Ormuzd (Ahura-mazda=the Wise Spirit), and Ahriman (Angro-mainyus=the Evil Spirit) of the Parsis. Love (ἔρως) and Hate (νεῖκος) sat on opposite thrones for the adoration of the world, and carried on the battle of life according to Hellenic philosophy. Life and death formed the common antithesis, expressive of the state of souls "dead in sin" or alive to righteousness and God. Gnosticism, with its endless schools and systems, brooded over the East for centuries, and gave birth to hosts of "heresies" at a later date.

Let us now approach the mysteries of Oriental Christianity with our "open sesame," and reveal the "open secret" of the Christian Faith according to John. First, then, What are the conditions required of Nicodemus, a master in Israel, who privately inquired the Galilean Prophet regarding the tenets of the new sect? The birth of the Spirit from above (ἄνω), not merely burial of the old faith beneath the "water" of baptism, but the resurrection from the dead to a new faith and life, and recognition of the Galilean brotherhood under the common Divine Fatherhood. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." What is the question put to Mary (the same Mary who anointed the Master with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair), the sister of Martha and Lazarus, his intimate friends at Bethany? "Do you believe that

I am the resurrection and the life? or (without the Hebraism), that I am a living resurrection?" She saith to him, "Yes, Master, I believe that you are the Anointed Child of God who should come into the world" (chap. xi.). And we are inclined to regard the story of the resurrection of Lazarus as an embodiment of this doctrine in a dramatic form. "My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself," is the style of his common arguments with his opponents—not an appeal to "signs," but good works. Hence he is the "Word of Life," *i.e.* the Living Word or Reason, which they had seen with their eyes, looked on, and their hands had handled; who resolved the Law of Moses, written on two tables of stone, into the love of God and man. "For the law was given by Moses, but favour and truth came by the anointed Jesus" (chap. i.).

What is the nature of God the Father and true worship expounded at Jacob's Well to the woman of Samaria, according to John? "Woman, believe me, the hour comes when you shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. You worship you know not what; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour comes, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." But the whole of his first letter should be compared with this passage—the sum and substance of which is condensed in the statement, "He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love."

What is the divine temple not made with hands adorned with the true "Shekinah" (the Presence of God)?

The temple of the body, with its understanding, the "Candle of the Lord." And this Divine Light (Λόγος) or Word, or Reason, styled παράκλητος by Philo, or spirit of holiness, which dwells in their hearts, will prove their Comforter and Consoler after his death (chap. xiv.). Hence the bold assertion which drove some of the timid literalists from his company: "Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you;" and his own interpretation, "It is the Spirit that gives life: the flesh profits nothing: the words that I speak to you, they are spirit, and they are life."

All controversy has now ended regarding the three witnesses, "the Spirit, the water, and the blood," which a defender of the creed adopted at the Nicene Council doubled by the interpolation of "the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit," removed from the Revised Version of the New Testament.

Such is the nature of John's "Spiritual Gospel;" and his life closes with the Epiphany or appearance of the "spiritual Body" of his risen Master, who had become "like an angel," neither marrying nor giving in marriage, on different occasions. But we must leave the interpretation of the "spiritual hopes" of John to our critical and "enlightened" readers; for the disciples themselves were divided regarding the signification of the mystical and mysterious allusion: "Peter seeing him, saith to Jesus, Master, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith to him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to you? follow you me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die; yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to you?"

We have not discussed the question of the actual

authorship of the "Spiritual Gospel," simply because it belongs to the sphere of "conjectural criticism." All probability inclines us to believe that John's Oriental disciples acted as the amanuenses of the fishermen of Galilee, and blended the phrases and formulas of their religion and philosophy with the pure spiritualism of the Christian faith, stripped of the Levitical law of Moses, after the destruction of the Temple; one thing is evident, however, that the Galilean cousin of the Prophet was not acquainted with the royal genealogies and miraculous birth attached to the biographies of Matthew and Mark.

CHAPTER V.

THE FOURTH PHASE.—ALEXANDRIAN CHRISTIANITY, ACCORDING TO THE LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE "HEBREWS."

THE anonymous Letter addressed to the Hebrews is pure Alexandrian and Philonian; and in all probability was written by Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, the friend of Paul, who headed a party in the Christian Church at Corinth. But the authorship was "disputed" in the age of Eusebius, who quotes the statement of Origen on the subject as follows: "The style of the epistle with the title to the 'Hebrews,' has not that vulgarity of diction which belongs to the Apostle, who confesses that he is but common in speech, that is, in his phraseology. But that this epistle is more pure Greek in the composition of its phrases every one will confess who is able to discern the difference of style. Again, it will be obvious that the ideas of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to any of the books acknowledged to be apostolic."

The reference to Apollos in the Acts of the Apostles also merits quotation, because it throws light upon the shifting phases of opinion which took place during the planting and propagation of Christianity: "And a certain Jew named Apollos, born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures, came to Ephesus. This man was instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John. And he began to speak boldly in the synagogue: whom when Aquila and Priscilla had heard, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly."

Whether Apollos the Jew composed the letter or not, he first adopted the doctrine of John the Baptist, and finally regarded Jesus the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, as "anointed," or sent of God to reveal the "True Light" to mankind. And as it forms the most systematic treatise amongst the lives and letters of the reformers of ancient Judaism, we shall now proceed to analyse its contents. Of course we expect our readers will bear in mind the pure theism and ethics, divested of all Oriental symbolism, found in the works of Philo, the philosophical Jew of Alexandria, his master, and the contemporary of the Galilean Prophet.

First, then, of the systematic order and arrangement of the letter addressed to the Hebrews. (1) At the outset the new convert never mentions John the Baptist at all, but lays the foundation of his new faith in the fulfilment of the prophets, and shows from the Scripture that Jesus was anointed or sent of God, and invested with a higher rank than angels or Moses the Jewish legislator (chaps. i.-iii.); (2) that the Jewish Sabbath was a mere "shadow" of the spiritual rest appointed to all men who entered the

Christian "kingdom of God" under Joshua (Greek, Jesus), the "Captain of Salvation" (deliverance) (chaps. iii.-iv.); (3) that the Jewish high priest was a mere shadow of the Christian order of Melchizedec, king of righteousness, and king of Salem (peace); (4) that the old covenant, the Levitical Law of Moses, was annulled by the new and better covenant, and promise of the law written on the hearts of Christians; (5) that the temple of Solomon, with its ritual, services, and sacrifices, was a type or parable of the temple not made with hands (chaps. ix.-x.), the body and soul of the Christian required to do the will of God; (6) that the fathers and spiritual heroes of the Jewish people bore testimony to this pure faith; (7) and he concludes his exposition of the Christian faith by counselling his brethren to maintain the social and religious brotherhood by daily sacrifices of divine praise, brotherly love (*φίλα-ἀδελφία*), and benevolence in the new Jerusalem—"a kingdom which cannot be shaken" (chaps. xi.-xiii.).

If the letter was not penned by Apollos, the Alexandrian Jew, it was certainly written by an "eloquent man, fervent in the spirit, and mighty in the Scriptures," who helped them much who believed in the thoroughgoing (*διόρθωσις*) reformation of ancient Judaism. All the elements of his theology are identical with those of his master Philo. The only difference arises from his adoption of the opinion of Paul the Roman reformer, who carried out the principles of Galilean, Jewish, Oriental, and Alexandrian Christianity to their final consequences, abrogated the Levitical Law of Moses, abolished the Temple and its sacerdotal and sacrificial ritual, and laid the foundations of Roman Christianity. Now for the details of the Alexandrian phase of Christianity.

1. *The Rank and Honours conferred on the Prophet of*

Nazareth of Galilee.—How does the critical and philosophical Alexandrian prove that Jesus the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee was anointed and sent of God to accomplish the reformation (διόρθωσις) of ancient Mosaism and Judaism? No mention is made of angelic salutations to welcome the Jewish reformer on his appearance on earth. No royal genealogy from David is claimed for the son of the humble carpenter of Nazareth. Only the simple statement stands at the commencement of his letter: "God, who in many portions of Scripture, and in many ways spoke in ancient times to the fathers by the prophets, has lately spoken to us by a child whom he appointed heir of all things, and of a more excellent name than angels." But his quotations, taken from the Jewish Scriptures in defence of his Alexandrian views, would not be deemed appropriate by scholars in the present day. Angels are found in the passage, "who makes the winds his messengers, and flaming fire his ministers," because he quoted from the Greek translation of the Scriptures (Septuagint). A second is taken from a poem (2) referring to the accession of King David to the throne. Another also refers to David. A fourth, forming the second member of a poetic parallelism, calling on the angels to worship Jahveh, is a mistranslation of the Greek Septuagint. A fifth seems also to refer to King David seated on the throne appointed by God. And a sixth, taken from the 110th poem, is also addressed to a king of Jerusalem. All these quotations are selected for the purpose of exalting the rank of the Galilean Prophet above the angels of God: "ministering spirits sent to minister for those who shall be heirs of salvation." And yet the author never claims him either as his royal descendant or spiritual son.

But the key to all his Alexandrian views regarding the Jewish Prophet is found in the quotation, that Jesus is the "ray of divine glory, and the impression of his substance," made from the Alexandrian "Book of Wisdom." "Wisdom is the brightness of the everlasting Light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, the image of his goodness; and being but one shé can do all things, and remaining on herself she maketh all things new, and in all ages entering into holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets." Almost the very same words are used by Philo regarding the human soul, which is "an impression of, or a fragment or a ray of, that blessed nature." And Abraham, the just man and friend of God, is "heir of all things." Moreover, all doubt on the subject is removed by the foresaid statement that "it became him, from whom are all things, in bringing many sons to glory, to make the Captain of their salvation (deliverer) perfect through suffering. For both he that sanctifies and they who are sanctified are all of one nature: for which cause He is not ashamed to call them brethren" (chap. ii.).

Such, then, is the Alexandrian idea of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, who was anointed or appointed by God for the purpose of accomplishing the reformation (διόρθωσις) of ancient Judaism, and therefore obtained a higher rank and "more excellent name" than Moses or the angels in heaven.

2. *The Jewish and Christian Sabbath.*—What, then, is the nature of the Sabbath according to the Alexandrian critic, who regards Jesus as a second Joshua (chap. iv.) to lead the Christian brotherhood into a new "kingdom of God" on earth—"the coming world" or the "new heavens and new earth of the prophets"? "We who

have believed do enter into rest." "There remaineth, therefore, a rest (σαββατισμὸς) to the people of God. For he that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his" (chap. iv.). Here commences the thoroughgoing reformation of the old covenant—the Levitical Law of Moses—according to Apollos (let us say), the terrible earthquake which shook the old heavens and earth of the Roman Empire, and exploded the Temple ritual and religion of Rome, Athens, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. All the Sabbaths of the Law of Moses were mere "shadows" to remind the people of "resting" from the works of the "flesh," and entering into communion with the works of the "Spirit of God." Hence the whole calendar of Sabbaths and festivals peculiar to Roman, Jewish, Hellenic, and Oriental religions decayed, waxed old, and vanished away during the progress of the "conversion of the Roman Empire."

3. *The Jewish and Christian Priesthood.*—What is the nature of the Christian priesthood conferred on the members of the Christian brotherhood according to the Alexandrian School? Under this topic, also, his radical reformation is effected by sweeping away the whole Levitical order established by Moses—Aaronic genealogies, tithes, sacrifices, etc.—"who served as an example and shadow of heavenly things;" and investing his fellow-Christians with the primitive order of Melchizedek (king of righteousness), king of Salem (peace), priest of the most high God; while the Galilean Prophet is honoured with the title of High Priest and "Forerunner" within the veil of the heavenly temple, in strict consistency with the words of Peter, supported by the Mosaic doctrine taken from Exodus—"You are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people,

that you should show forth the praises of him who has called you out of darkness into his marvellous light." "For there is verily an abolition of the former law on account of its weakness and unprofitableness." And perfectly conscious of the revolutionary doctrine unfolded in his announcement, Apollos acknowledges that the subject is difficult of interpretation. "For when for the time you ought to be teachers, you have need that one teach you what are the very elements of divine instruction." But the drift of his reasoning is quite evident. When Apollos terms Jesus a second Joshua, he acts in the capacity of a "captain" to lead them into the new kingdom of God founded on the earth. And when he compares him to the high priest of the Temple of Jerusalem, he acts as the "forerunner" of the social and religious brotherhood who is not ashamed to call them brethren, who consider that "it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins."

4. *The Old and New Covenant or Law.*—What is the nature of the new covenant or law binding on the hearts and consciences of the Christian brotherhood? The direct fulfilment of the declarations of the Jewish prophets—the abrogation of the old law having "a shadow of good things to come"—the two tables of stone laid up in the Ark, and the reversion to the law of the living human heart, according to Jeremiah: "After those days I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people" (chap. xxxi.). So far as can be judged from the letters of Apollos, not one of the biographies of the Galilean Prophet had fallen into his hands. But we know that he visited Ephesus, the seat of John's school, and centre of Oriental Christianity,—"watered" the vineyard

planted at Corinth by Paul, and adhered more or less closely to the liberal and advanced views of his friends, Aquila and Priscilla, who induced him to forsake the followers of John the Baptist. Be that as it may, they must have been "easy steps and lessons," for the disciple of Philo, who said, in almost identical terms with his Galilean contemporary, "of the ten commandments engraved in these tables which are properly and especially laws, there is an equal division into two numbers of five: the first of which contains the principle of justice, relating to God, and the second those relating to man" (on "Who is the heir of all things"). In fact, the real aim of Apollos is stated with far greater clearness and distinctness by Philo himself in his treatise, "On the unwritten laws, that is to say, Abraham." "For these men have been living and rational laws, and the Lawgiver has magnified them for two reasons: first, because he was desirous to show that the injunctions which are thus given are not inconsistent with nature; and, secondly, that he might prove that it is not very difficult or laborious for those who wish to live according to the laws established in these books, since the earliest men easily and spontaneously obeyed the unwritten principle of legislation before any one of the particular laws were written down at all." The subject will come again before us in discussing the controversy waged between Peter and Paul, the defenders of Jewish and Roman Christianity.

5. *The Temple of Solomon and the Temple not made with hands.*—What temple took the place of the temple of Solomon according to Alexandrian interpretation? The temple not made with hands, a more perfect tabernacle than Solomon's temple, which was a mere "figure (parable) for the time then present"—the living temple and house

of the Spirit of God, who descended from heaven into this "human form divine." And the living sacrifice offered by the High Priest of the Christian profession was himself (like the innocent lamb), without spot to God, to purge the conscience from "dead works," to serve the living God, *i.e.* for the purpose of abolishing the laborious symbolism of bloody sacrifices and incense employed to represent the religious sentiments and worship of the people. But the only distinction which exists between the High Priest and his brethren is only the foremost rank and dignity in the Christian "house of God." Accordingly, he concludes his exposition with the appropriate counsel: "Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and good works, not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together as a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God according to the teaching of Jesus, our anointed and appointed Lawgiver."

Such is the allegorical method of exposition adopted by Apollos, the Jew of Alexandria, in effecting the reformation of the Jewish, as well as of the Roman, Hellenic, and Oriental religions of the age. And in doing so he draws all his arguments from the sacred writings of the Jews themselves. But, as we have already said, every article of his new theology could be found within the pages of his master, Philo, the Jew, and Platonic philosopher of Alexandria. One specimen may serve as an illustration on this subject. "There are as it seems two temples belonging to God: one being this world, in which the High Priest is the divine Word (Λόγος = reason), his one first-born son; the other is the rational soul, the priest of which is the real true man."

Nearly four centuries, however, expired before the Edict of Theodosius the Great (A.D. 381) was issued for

the total abolition of animal sacrifices. And after the lapse of a similar period since the Reformation in the sixteenth century modern Christians are agitating for the final disestablishment and disendowment of the national religious institutions of ancient Christendom.

6. *The testimony of their Jewish Fathers and Forefathers to the Christian Faith.*—What is the nature of the faith in God required by the disciple of the Alexandrian School of Christianity? The simple faith of the Fathers of the faithful,—the patriarchs, poets, princes, and prophets of the people,—that "God is the rewarder of those that diligently seek Him,"—the God of Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Rahab, Gedeon, Barak, Samson, Jephthae, David, Samuel, and the prophets (chap. xi.). Such is "the cloud of witnesses," the royal roll of Hebrew heroes, who protested against the polytheism and idolatry of the Oriental world, and proclaimed the faith in the sole and supreme Creator of heaven and earth, and the divine order and unity of the universe (κόσμος), claimed by the Alexandrian apostles in support of the reformed faith of the Christian brotherhood, founded by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee.

But Adam, the first father of mankind, is omitted, as the father of all sin and evil, and the names of Solomon and all the kings of Judah and Israel who crushed the rights and liberties of the primitive tribes of Israel, "like the rulers of the nations" (1 Sam. i.), are also excluded from the royal roll of heroes who suffered for the true faith—in accordance with the spirit and language of the Galilean Reformer addressed to his disciples (Matt. xx.). Who can estimate the prodigious influence of the magnificent peroration on the minds of Jews distracted by

the Rabbinical subtleties of the schools of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenians, peculiar to every corner of the Roman Empire who lamented the corruptions of the patriarchic and Mosaic faith, commenced with the Temple of Solomon, the introduction of foreign religions, and the disruption of the kingdom, which facilitated and precipitated the Assyrian and Babylonian conquest and captivity?

7. *Concluding Counsels.*—Lastly, can the critical student place himself at the standpoint of the Jewish Protestant, hurl the burning and quaking mountain of Sinai, with all the fire, blackness, darkness, tempest, trumpets, and voices connected with the proclamation of the "Law of Moses," into the sea of oblivion, by faith; and "come to Mount Sion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, an innumerable company of angels, the general assembly of the first-born written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator (Lawgiver) of the New Covenant, and the blood of sprinkling which speaketh better things than that of Abel,"—the living sacrifice of brotherly love (φιλαδελφία)? Such, at least, was the parting invitation of the Alexandrian reformer, "mighty in the Scriptures," to his readers. And the union of the Old and New Testament (or Covenant), the latter of which repeals the former, in one volume, drags thousands of Jewish Christians backwards to this day to the foot of Sinai to listen to the thunders and curses of the law (legalism) instead of forward to God, who is "a rewarder of them who diligently seek him," in common with the social brotherhood of "the spirits of just men made perfect," in "the simplicity of the gospel," or welcome message of divine love (spiritualism), spoken in

many portions and many ways in times past to the fathers of pure and unadulterated religion. We need not pry too closely into the peculiar nature of the "hope of Israel," the approaching kingdom on earth (chap. x.) cherished by the disciples of the Alexandrian school of Christianity; for Paul himself, whether teacher or friend, modified his hereditary Pharisaic notions regarding the future destiny of Israel. Both of them, however, looked forward with all confidence to an honourable seat in the heavenly "kingdom which cannot be shaken," along with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee—"the author and perfecter of their Faith."

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFORMATION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

"There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all."—ROMANS x.

THE reformation of ancient Judaism, we have now seen, commenced with the birth of Jesus, in the bosom of Galileanism; proceeded with his attachment to the mission of John the Baptist, his own independent and prophetic career, preaching, and martyrdom; and was followed by the Jewish, Oriental, and Alexandrian Christianity of Peter, James, John, and Apollos, in three separate centres of religious distribution—Jerusalem, Ephesus, and Alexandria. And the leading part which Saul of Tarsus, afterwards called Paul, took in its planting and propagation in Rome, Athens, and Ephesus, as well as in the other great cities and centres of culture, fully entitles him to the appellation of the "Apostle (or missionary) of the Gentiles" (ἔθνη=nations), the Reformer of the Roman Empire.

The sole claim of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee was: "I am not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." And like all his predecessors, he

preached repentance and obedience to the kingdom or government of God in the hearts and lives; and the acceptance of the doctrines of Peter, James, and John, we found, required obedience to the Levitical Law of Moses, in accordance with the life and practice of their Master.

The "spiritual gospel" ascribed to John—a curious compound of Hellenic, Alexandrian, and Oriental philosophy, blended with a slight survival of primitive Galileanism—must have emanated from the later disciples, who, like Chunder Sen in our own day, founded a new creed from the "good, beautiful, and true" elements of all the religions of the age. The God of Israel has become a "Spirit," is just on the point of leaving the mountains of Jerusalem as well as Samaria, and taking up his abode in the hearts of all men who worship him "in spirit and in truth." And whether the gospel of the Hebrews was written by Apollos or not, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee has now eclipsed both Moses and Joshua, the founders and legislators of the old covenant,—carried his followers into a "new world" (*οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα*), and invested them with the regalia and mitre of royalty and priesthood, the new order of Melchizedek—king of righteousness and peace—and written the law on the hearts and souls of Christians transformed into living temples of God on earth.

Such are the several and successive phases which Galilean and Jewish Christianity assumed before the appearance of Paul, the Jew of Tarsus, amongst the earliest founders and reformers. And the peculiar mission and merit of Paul was his special presentation of Christianity in accordance with the reformed religion and philosophy of Roman cosmopolitanism—we say in accordance with the reformed religion and philosophy of

Roman cosmopolitanism, for the pure theism and ethics of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, as well as of Zeno and Epicurus, had been appropriated and adopted by all the leading poets, philosophers, and historians of the Augustan age before the birth of Paul, or any one of the Jewish reformers.

And as Rome thus forms an independent centre of religious distribution neglected by ecclesiastical historians, we deem it necessary not only to do justice to the Roman reformers, but prepare the minds of our readers for the proper appreciation of the mission of Paul—as Roman as any of them by culture and education, their fellow-labourer and successor. The subject, we have no doubt, is new to most readers, but results necessarily from the adoption of the comparative method of historical investigation, inaugurated by the science of Sociology, or the physiology of the social organism. Accordingly, we only ask the student to remember that the reformation of the Roman Empire followed the same law of social development as the Protestant reformation in the sixteenth century, which sprang from several independent centres of religious distribution, under the Socini in Italy, Luther and Melancthon in Germany, Zwingle in Switzerland, Calvin, the French reformer and exile, in Geneva, Knox in Scotland, and Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley in England.

The Roman Reformers and Precursors of Christianity.—What is the distinctive character of the "Augustan age" which Rome had reached at the Christian era (A.D. 1), according to our chronological chart? The exact parallel to the age of Leo X. in modern Europe, and the "Elizabeth age" in Britain; for the Tribal period of the Roman Empire ended at the expulsion of the Tarquins (B.C. 504),

and the Consular and Republican period passed into the Imperial stage on the accession of Augustus Cæsar (B.C. 27). Accordingly, Cicero, Lucretius, Horatius, Virgilius, Livius, Tacitus, Seneca, and Epictetus of Rome, as well as Philo of Alexandria and Josephus of Judæa, form the historical counterparts of Dante, Tasso, and the Socini in Italy, Descartes and Calvin in France, Luther and Melanchthon in Germany, Zwingle in Switzerland, Erasmus in Holland, Knox in Scotland, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Bacon, and Shakespeare in England. "For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all" (Rom. x.), *i.e.* the same divine author conferred the intellectual and emotional endowments upon the great men of all nations.

The long series of the Crusades, the fall of Constantinople, and the flight of the Greeks to Italy, awakened the minds of scholars, and paved the way for the Renascence and revival of learning in Europe. And the conquest of Carthage, Greece, Egypt, Judæa, and Western Asia in the east, as well as Spain, Gaul, and Britain in the west, rounded off the *Orbis Romanus*, and generated the feelings and ideas of common citizenship throughout the length and breadth of the Roman Empire. But the comparative criticism of the fermenting social, religious, and ethical creeds of Europe, Asia, and Africa during the "Palingenesia," or new birth of society, in both epochs lies beyond the scope of our present work. Our object will be served by selecting the Representative Men of the "Augustan age" who renounced the faith of Rome, and adopted the pure religion and morals found in the surviving literature—poetry, philosophy, and history, within the limits of their own social government.

Cicero, the Religious and Moral Reformer of Rome, is the

novel title designedly selected for the purpose of designating the social mission discharged by the greatest philosopher (φίλο-σοφὸς, lover of wisdom), politician, and orator of the Augustan age. But we cannot pretend to measure the "social force" of the gigantic intellect which swayed the destinies of the Roman people in the Senate and Forum, the priesthood, the army, and schools of philosophy, during the formative period of social development. Like all the young patricians and scholars of the age, he sat at the feet of the successors of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus, at Rhodes and Athens; rose from grade to grade of official life; poured out his brilliant orations in the law-courts; quashed the Catiline conspiracy in his Consulship (one of the two kings of Rome for a year); crystallised his life-thoughts and opinions in his rural villas, in his ripest years, during the civil wars, and fell a victim at last to the jealous imperialism and dictatorship of the Triumvirate and Cæsar.

Here, then, we shall pursue the same course of critical analysis with the literary encyclopædia of Marcus Tullius Cicero—the Tusculan Disputations, Academical Questions, Republic, Laws, Orations, Divination, Aims and Duties, Friendship, Old Age, Consolation, Nature of the Gods, and Familiar Letters—the monument more lasting than brass which he raised to the dignity and glory of Roman genius. And to facilitate the comparison of the opinions of Paul and Cicero, we shall arrange our remarks under the following divisions: 1. Nature; or the Physical Government of the Universe. 2. Human Nature; or Personal, Domestic, and Political Government. 3. The Nature and Character of Deity; or Divine Government. 4. Temple Ritual; or Religious Government. 5. Future Life. 6. Political Pre-visions.

1. *Nature; or, the Physical Government of the Universe.*—First, then, What is the nature of the Roman philosophical theory of nature and the Universe? Exactly what might have been anticipated from the author of the Republic and Laws—the expounder of the ten tables, and the duties of a Government—the stringent definition of law, natural, moral, and political, regulating the government of nature, man, and the universe. "Nothing is more consonant to the legislative order and condition of nature (which I term a law) than a constitutional government, without which no family, nor house, nor a state, nor the universal human species, neither the world nor the universe, could exist; for the entire world, earth, and ocean, and the life of mankind are subjected to the almighty commands of the Supreme Lawgiver" (*Laws*).

The whole body of modern science was condensed in a nutshell in that comprehensive generalisation of Cicero the Roman legislator; and all the brilliant culture of the Augustan age could be gleaned from his instructive remarks on the nature of the family and State placed under the Divine Government—physical, moral, and social. But we must attend to the laws of order in referring to the numerous products of his literary encyclopædia.

The whole subject is discussed with great fulness in the "Nature of the Gods" (ii.); ranks with Paley's *Natural Theology, or Evidences in Favour of the Existence, Character, and Providence of Deity;* and is specially referred to by Paul in his letter to the Romans (chap. i.). To give a single example of his style: "The first point then, I think, needs no proof, for what can be so plain and evident when we behold the heavens, and contemplate the celestial bodies, as the existence of some Supreme

Divine Intelligence by which they are governed?" (2). But the fervid orator fairly takes the wings of fancy, lands in the Milky Way, and listens to the music of the spheres in the "Vision of Scipio:" "From whence proceed, then, sounds so strong and yet so sweet that fill my ears? The melody which you hear, and which, though composed in unequal time, is nevertheless divided into equal harmony, is effected by the impulse and motion of the spheres themselves, which, by a temper of sharp and grave notes, regularly produce various harmonious effects." Such was the prodigious influence of the spirit of Plato on the philosophers, politicians, and moralists of "Roma Antiqua." His physical universe was set to music, and flawless.

The natural consequence of the formulation of the "Reign of Law" in the physical universe was the wholesale rejection of the Asiatic, African, and European Pantheism—the hereditary worship of the sun, moon, and stars, fire, air, earth, and water, sacred places, trees, and animals—as vulgar errors and superstitions, and the substitution of the study and interpretation of the laws of nature as the aim and duty of the wise man. His own words are—"The whole family of superstition must be rooted out, for the purpose of propagating religion based on the knowledge of nature."

2. *Human Nature; or, Personal, Domestic, and Political Government.*—The dignity, divinity, and destiny of human nature, soul and body, formed the grand theme of Cicero's eloquence in all his works. Such physiology and vivisection of the human body as was possible to the Roman philosopher was minutely displayed for the purpose of proving its divine origin. The soul of man is "a celestial ray of the Divinity itself" (*Fin.* ii. 34). "For the mind

is a kind of image of God, springing and issuing from heaven itself, for it always wishes to return to its original home" (*in cœlum quasi in domicilium suum*) (*Sen.* xxi.). "Know therefore that you are a divine person, since it is divinity that has consciousness, sensation, memory, and foresight, that governs, regulates, and moves that body over which it is appointed, just as the Supreme Deity rules this world" (*Somn. Scip.*). Such is the divine origin and nature of the human soul and body according to Cicero, which forms a material, mental, and moral constitution (*imperium*). "For the mind is distributed into two parts, of which one is participant, and the other void of reason (*ratio*). When, therefore, we are commanded to exercise self-government, the precept requires reason to check all disorder, as in the case of a master and servant, a general and a soldier, a parent and a son." One distinctive feature of the moral condition of human nature, according to Cicero, is the utter absence of all hereditary evil, or the slightest trace of moral metempsychosis, which he seems to have left behind him in the declining schools of Greece. And the sole aim of all his works is devoted to the exposition of the laws of personal, domestic, and political government.

"The distinguishing property of man is to search after and follow truth," is the starting-point of his treatise on "Human Duties," addressed to his son Marcus, studying at Athens. "Philosophy is the culture of the mind. I will follow Reason wherever she leads," are Cicero's philosophical maxims. Accordingly the Roman litterateur meets with his highest encomiums. "With reverence they consult the collections of those who have gone before them, and contribute their own. This is their occupation, and they are never to be sated. No; the meaner concerns of

the world are set aside and forgotten, and they mount to a quarry worth a thousand of it. So engaging and satisfying a thing is conversing with books, that those very men who have set up their rest in the pursuit of external profit and pleasure have yet made it the business of their lives to search into the nature of things, and account for their dependence and operations" (*Tusc.* ix.). His ample rewards are not forgotten by the ex-consul who sought retirement and peace during the civil wars in his Tusculan villa. "Whoever beholds and examines them, with what tranquillity of mind does he look on all human affairs, and what is nearer him?" His mental philosophy is thoroughly European, and his moral philosophy is not one whit behind it. "Our souls are, as it were, inlaid with a love of knowledge. Men are born with a common aptitude and tendency to the exercise of the more noted and conspicuous virtues, justice, temperance, and the like, which in their nature are analogous to other arts and sciences, though, in the matter and exercise of them, superior," is the starting-point of Cicero's morals. And mental or moral moderation or equilibrium—the golden mean—is the *summum bonum*, the highest ideal, the practical goal of human life and happiness (*mediocritas ad omnem usum, cultumque vitæ, transferenda est*). But we can do little more than refer to his famous treatise on morals (*De Officiis*), which forms a complete manual of duties for magistrates and citizens, strangers, slaves, youth, and age. "Whatever is virtuous," says he, "arises from some one of these four divisions, for it consists either in sagacity and the perception of truth, or in the preservation of human society, by giving to every man his due, and by observing the faith of contracts, or in the greatness and firmness of an elevated and unsubdued mind, and in

observing order and regularity in all our words, and in all our actions in which consists moderation and temperance" (i. 5). We can only state that its comprehensiveness is equalled by its considerateness, applicable to all ranks and relations of human life.

The long list of essays on Friendship, Old Age, Grief and Trouble of Mind, Bearing Pain, and a Happy Life, are experiences of rich and varied moral instruction, for all men who desire to fight the battle of common life with manly courage and fortitude. The *summum bonum*, the highest good, and moral ideal of the Roman philosopher is tested and safeguarded by the union of the four cardinal virtues—justice, temperance, wisdom, and manliness. Accordingly the wise man of Cicero stands on the same level with the "just man" of Paul, his Jewish successor.

Two or three quotations will prove the perfect identity of the Ciceronian and Pauline moral ideal. "What does the word *Amare* (to love—derivative *amicitia*, friendship) import, to wish all the good we can to another, though we shall reap no advantage by it ourselves?" (*Fin.* ii. 24). "To beasts Nature has given sense and motion, and a faculty which directs them to what is salutary, and to shun what is noxious to them. On man she has conferred a greater portion of her favour; she has added reason to command his passions, to moderate some, and subdue others" (*Nat. Deor.* ii. 12). "For whilst we are shut up in the prison of the body, we are fulfilling, as it were, the function and painful task of destiny, for the heaven-born soul has been degraded from its dwelling-place above, and as it were buried in the earth—a situation uncongenial to its Divine and immortal nature. But I believe that the immortal gods have shed souls into men's bodies, that beings might exist

who might tend the earth, and by contemplating the order of the heavenly bodies, might imitate it, in the manner and regularity of their lives" (*Senect.*)

But the crown of Cicero's moral philosophy is his magnificent generalisation of the universality of the law of nature—the soul and heart of Roman cosmopolitanism. "For that ideal and perfect law, to which all others must conform, if they too would be perfect, is not one thing at Rome, another at Athens; one now, another hereafter. It embraces all nations, through every age. It is ordained of God, and he who should disregard it can escape its penalties only by escaping from himself, and divesting himself of his humanity" (*Repub.*). And this brings us to his political cosmopolitanism, and the idea of common citizenship belonging to every subject of the Roman Empire (*civem totius mundi quasi unius urbis*).

The first expression of Roman cosmopolitanism was given by Terence on the stage, in the famous statement, "Nothing less than the well-being of all mankind, I consider worthy of my attention" (*nihil humani alienum puto*), and it met with general applause. The very word philanthropy (*φιλανθρωπία*) was coined, according to Polybius, the secretary of Scipio Africanus, for the purpose of denoting the character of Roman toleration and clemency. And all the world (Paul amongst the number), gloried in the civil rights and privileges of common citizenship under the masters of the world in the Augustan age. "One great end of our coming into the world is to fall into societies and confederations," says Cicero, and his "Republic" and "Laws" are specially devoted to the philosophical exposition of the Divine origin and benefits of civil law and social order. His counsel, addressed to his brother Quintus, on the "Duties

of a Governor" are full of political wisdom. Everywhere throughout his works the subject is alluded to, and political maxims enforced with all the weight of his own extensive legal and judicial experience and expansive benevolence. "Men are created for the sake of men, that they may mutually do good to one another." "Our country comprehends all the endearments of us all. For which, what good man would hesitate to die, if he could do her a service?" (*Off.* i.) But we need not dwell on the deep debt of gratitude to Cicero and succeeding Roman jurists who laid the foundation of the municipal system and jurisprudence—the Justinian Codes, Institutes, and Pandects, which lie at the basis of European and British law and civil society.

3. *The Nature and Character of the Deity; or, Divine Government* has been incidentally illustrated with sufficient clearness under the preceding division; for Cicero, we saw, rose from Nature up to Nature's God by the minute examination of the planning and designing intelligence, order, and symmetry, patent in all the works of nature, and the universe, plants, animals, and mankind, stars, and states. The question remains, to be sure, Can you divine the opinions of Cicero himself from the critical analysis of the Stoic, Epicurean, Academic, Peripatetic, and Cynic system of Theology put into the mouths of the several speakers, in his *Dialogues?* With great facility; for he takes the whole case to avizandum, and finally issues the verdict with all the caution of an Academic Agnostic. "Velleius judged that the arguments of Cotta were nearest the truth, but those of Balbus (Stoic) seemed to me to have the greater probability" (*Nat. Deor.*) The discussion really differs little from the philosophical theories of

the universe prevalent in the present age; for one school asserts that the universe is endowed with divine powers, forces, and agencies, to regulate the composition and decomposition of all celestial and terrestrial phenomena, with occasional "miraculous" interpositions; while the other maintains that the Deity is exalted by his almighty omniscience to such infinite perfection that no interference whatever is called for in the physical, moral, and political government of the universe. Be that as it may, there is very little doubt that Cicero subscribed to the confession that "Epicureanism having freed us from these terrors and restored us to liberty, we have no dread of those beings whom we have reason to think entirely free from all trouble themselves, and who do not impose any on others. We pay our adoration, indeed, with piety and reverence to that Essence which is above all in excellence and perfection" (*Nat. Deor.* i. 22). And again, "We need not dread Jupiter, lest in his wrath he might do us harm who neither is accustomed to be wroth nor to do harm (*Off.* iii. 29). But the following passage, deemed worthy of a place in the works of Lactantius the "Christian Cicero" and tutor of Crispus, the son of Constantine the Great, gives the most eloquent and adequate expression to the moral theism of the philosophical reformer of the hereditary religion of ancient Rome. "When the mind, after the recognition and experience of the virtues of humanity, has refrained from sensual pursuits and indulgences, and expelled pleasure as a moral taint, escaped from all fear of death and sorrow, and bound itself to the dear ties of domestic and social relationship, and has adopted a pure religion, and maintains the worship of the gods, and enlightened itself for the prompt selection of the good, and the

rejection of evil, which virtue is designated prudence, from foresight, what can be deemed or termed happier? Likewise when he has observed the heavens, earth, seas, and universe, and its products, their courses, seasons, and decay, of what is mortal and fading in them, and recognised that he is not a citizen surrounded by the walls of any definite locality, but of the whole world, as if it were a single city, shall he not in this universal magnificence, in the presence and knowledge of nature, O immortal gods! know himself? Shall he not despise, disregard, and deem as nothing, those things which are commonly styled unbounded,—the laws and commandments of Pythian Apollo?"

Only think of the 30,000 greater and lesser gods and goddesses, muses, graces, fates and furies, nymphs, naiads, nereids, oreads, dryads, and hamadryads, thronging the hills and dales, mountains, groves and streams, towns and cities of Greece and Rome who vanished *en masse* at the wave of the magic rod of the Roman interpreter of Nature!

4. *Temple Ritual; or, Religious Government.*—Can any student doubt then, we ask, that the old faith of Rome was shaken to its foundations by the critical scepticism and discussions of the leading schools of philosophy, when Cicero summoned their attention "to consider what sentiments they ought to preserve concerning religious piety, sanctity, ceremonies, faith, oaths, temples, shrines, and solemn sacrifices and auspices," in his "Nature of the Gods"? The whole religious ritual is put to the question, with a vengeance, during the course of a series of debates in three books. "What State or what people does not search for intimations of the future, from the entrails of cattle, the portents and lightning of interpreters, or augurs, or astro-

logers, or sorcerers, or dreamers, or vaticinators? But I prefer the investigation of the facts rather than of the occult antecedents and causes. How much more laudable would it be, Velleius, to acknowledge that you do not know what you do not know, than to follow that blunderer whom you must surely despise!

"Tell me, I beseech you, do you shudder at the thought of three-headed Cerberus in the infernal regions, the roaring waves of Cocytus, the fording of Acheron in Charon's boat, Tantalus up to the chin in water, the bootless and laborious rolling of the stone by Sisyphus, or the inexorable judges, Minos and Rhadamanthus; and therefore dread death as a perpetual evil? Surely you are not so delirious as to think that I put any faith in them?" "Time wears away opinions founded on fiction, but confirms the dictates of Nature." "All these opinions arise from old stories that were spread in Greece, the course of which you well know ought to be stopped, lest religion should suffer. Let all such errors be banished from philosophy, if we would advance, in our dispute concerning the immortal gods, nothing unworthy of immortal beings." And his conclusions are repeated over and over again in the course of his voluminous writings. "The best, the chastest, the most sacred and pious worship of the gods is to reverence them, always with a pure, perfect, and unspotted mind and voice; for our ancestors, as well as the philosophers, have separated superstition from religion. The universe is at one time a temple, and at another the common habitation or city of the gods and men." Such is the pure religion and hearty worship of the Roman reformer, and precursor of Christianism.

5. *Future Life.* — Since Cicero sweeps Tartarus and Elysium, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Cerberus, and Charon from

the stage of Roman religion as poetic fictions (*figmenta poetarum*), the question remains—What is the nature of the future prospect held out to his philosophical and reforming followers? Several allusions have already been incidentally made to the subject during the course of our quotations, as, *e.g.*, The soul of man is a portion of the Divinity, which insures its immortality. Life is only a "temporary lodging on earth," and it naturally aspires to its original home in heaven, and becomes "either a god or the companion of the gods." "O glorious day!" is the ardent longing expressed in his "Old Age" to his aged friend, Atticus, "when I shall depart to that divine company and assemblage of spirits, and quit this troubled and earthly scene." And the soul of the seer at last takes its position amongst the stars in the "Vision of Scipio," and a voice falls like a falling star—"Know that you are a divine person, since it is Divinity that has consciousness, sensation, memory, and foresight; that governs, regulates, and moves that body over which it has been appointed, just as the Supreme Deity rules this world. Do thou therefore employ it in the noblest of pursuits, and in the noblest of cares, which are those for the safety of thy country. The soul that is stirred and agitated by these will fly the more quickly to this mansion, soar to its own home; and this will be the more rapid if even now, while it is imprisoned in the body, it sallies abroad, and, contemplating those objects that are without it, abstracts itself as much as possible from the body." No "seraphic doctor" of the Christian schools could have taken a loftier flight; for Cicero still holds his place amongst the stars of the firmament of Europe which shines for ever and ever.

6. *Political Pre-visions.*—The only theory of man and

the earth adopted by Cicero was the Oriental belief in periodic and recurring cycles of celestial and terrestrial revolutions, based on the Hindu Kalpas and Manwantaras, alluded to in the "Vision of Scipio." "Mankind ordinarily measure their years by the revolution of the sun—that is, of a single heavenly body. But when all the planets shall return to the same position which they once had, and bring back, after a long rotation, the same aspect of the entire heavens, then the years may be said to be truly completed, in which I do not venture to say how many ages of mankind will be contained. For as of old, when the spirit of Romulus entered these temples, the sun disappeared to mortals and seemed to be extinguished, so whenever the sun is eclipsed, at the same time with all the stars, and the constellations, brought back to the same starting-point, shall again disappear, then you are to reckon the year to be complete. But, be assured, the twentieth part of such a year has not yet elapsed."

No stress was laid on the vulgar superstition of counting a century for each of the twelve eagles which appeared to Romulus, and dating the close of the nation's life at the end of twelve centuries. Sibylline books were said to be guarded by the College of Augurs, and consulted on the occasion of extraordinary calamities; but "was it possible for two augurs to meet in the city of Rome without laughing at each other in the face?" was also a current popular saying.

The next Roman reformer who professedly attacked the old faith of Rome, in his "Poem on the Universe" (*De Rerum Natura*), was *Lucretius* (B.C. 95-52), a contemporary of Livy and Cicero.

From beginning to end, the thorough-going and scientific moral and religious reformer carries on a running fire in

his determined crusade against the superstitious "religio" and vulgar errors of Greek and Roman antiquity. His *ingenium perfervidum* explodes in indignation against the sacrifice of the royal princess Iphigenia, Agamemnon's daughter, in the name of heaven and religion, as well as against the "erroneous representations" and defamations of divine character attributed to the gods. He boldly demands that "the fear of Acheron, which disturbs human life from its very foundation, suffusing all things with the blackness of death, nor allows any pleasure to be pure and uncontaminated, must be driven utterly from our minds;" and adds, in evidence of his unadulterated theology and moral divinities, "The whole race of gods must necessarily of itself enjoy its immortal existence in the most profound tranquillity, far removed and separated from our affairs, since being free from all pain, exempt from all dangers, powerful in itself in its own resources and wanting nothing from us, it is neither propitiated by services from the good nor affected with anger against the bad" (lib. ii.).

No deception is practised in the statement either of the object of his *magnum opus*, or of the means employed for the accomplishment of his purpose. "In the first place, I give instructions concerning mighty subjects, and proceed to free the mind from the closely confining shackles of religion." And his method of dispelling the terrors of the mind is the exercise of reason and the contemplation of Nature. "Nor is it any piety for a man to be seen with his head veiled turning towards a stone and drawing near to every altar, or to fall prostrate on the ground, and to stretch out his hands before the shrines of the gods, or to sprinkle the altar with copious blood of four-footed beasts, and to add vows to vows; but it is rather piety to be able to contemplate all things with a

serene mind." With this prelude, pitched to the key-note of a Hebrew prophet or primitive Christian, he commences the exposition of the general laws of cosmological and biological phenomena, and shows that the primordial elements of space and matter—atoms—are, like the alphabet of language, capable of combination in all the transformations visible in physical and psychological phenomena—in fact, the doctrines of organic Evolution. Botanical and zoological types are announced with as great distinctness, and formulated with all the exactitude of universal "laws of nature" by Lucretius, as by the expounders of positive science in modern times—with the exception that the Roman was utterly unconscious of the elementary constituents of the atmological and terrestrial forces of nature revealed by the searching analysis of modern chemistry. The stability of the universe, however, is ensured by perpetual genesis and palingenesis. According to the cosmology of the Roman Positivist, the origin of the world, the numerous races of humanity, civil society, languages, and the endless species of plants and animals are of recent date; and all the inventions and discoveries of science and art, which have contributed to the progress of civilisation are traced to the innate genius and skill of mankind—an ever-recurrent "Natura,"—the birth, life, and death of organisms; the everlasting φύσις of Heraclitus; the atomism of Democritus and Epicurus, and the convertibility and conservation of force, as well as the indestructibility of matter of modern science,—Nature itself, without any special intervention or interposition of the immortal, invisible, and immutable divinities of heaven—"Omnia mutantur, nihil interit." His cosmical generalisation would appear to have included the belief of the habita-

bility of the stars, for he refers to other combinations of matter in other places such as this world. No exception whatever is made on behalf of the human soul—"quarta quædam natura" extremely subtle—from the operation of the universal law of generation and regeneration. The Virgilian idea of special spiritual creation, of souls standing ready in Hades to enter human bodies on earth, is scouted as "exceedingly ridiculous" by twenty-six arguments; and the doctrine of Traducianism, or hereditary transmission, inculcated, viz., that a certain disposition of mind grows up together with each body from its own seed and stock. "Nothing is that errs from law."

The same universality attaches to his Ethical Code—the acceptance, viz., of the rational and moral "Imperium" of the human constitution, established by nature, advocated by his philosophic and eloquent contemporary Cicero, with its *summum bonum* of piety, moderation, contentment, and serenity peculiar to the Roman, as well as the Hellenic *beau-ideal* of human happiness. "Such fancies, unless you expel from your mind, and put far from you unworthy thoughts of the gods, and cease to harbour notions inconsistent with their tranquillity, the sacred power of the divinities will often, as being offended by you, obstruct your peace. Not that the supreme majesty of the deities can really be violated, so that it should sink through anger to inflict severe punishment, but because you yourself, when you might be calm in tranquil peace, will suppose that the gods cherish vast floods of wrath against you; nor will you approach the temple of the deities with a heart at ease, nor be able to admit into your mind, with placid serenity of contemplation, those images which are borne from the sacred persons of the gods, as indications of their divine beauty, into the breasts

of mankind." Thanks to the daring iconoclast, who dragged Tantalus, Tityrus, and Sisyphus out of Hades, to which they had been transferred by the terror-stricken and frenzied imagination of humanity, and restored Cerberus, Tartarus, and the Furies to their proper place as airy nothings, and a "name"—amongst the "fossil" religions of antiquity.

The term Atheist, so freely bandied by every sect of philosophy and theology, in ancient and modern times, was freely bestowed on the daring reformer; and we are only discovering that Lucretius made the nearest approach to a modern scientist in the ancient world.

Our third representative man and Roman reformer of the Augustan age is *Seneca* (A.D. 65), the moral philosopher *par excellence;* "the acutest of all the Stoics," claimed as "our Seneca," with "a mind naturally Christian," by the Fathers. Not only so; but the very words of Jerome, one of the leading Roman Fathers, are, "The Stoics concur in almost every respect with our doctrines" (*Stoici nostri dogmati in plerisque concordant*); and Archdeacon Farrar has reverted to the same opinion in his *Seekers after God,* in which he says regarding the works of Seneca that they are "the grandest series of truths to which, unilluminated by Christianity, the thoughts of man ever attained."

The leading incidents of Seneca's life are his birth in Spain, the tutorship of the young emperor Nero; his consulship, banishment to Corsica, and death by opening his veins, at the order of his former capricious and despotic pupil. Our aim, however, in this place, is not the story of his life, but the growth and development of his philosophic prelude to Christian Stoicism.

The mere titles of Seneca's works—Natural Questions,

Clemency, Anger, Beneficence, Spiritual Serenity, The Wise Man's Constancy, A Happy Life, The Brevity of Life, Providence, Renunciation of the World, Consolation in Exile, addressed to his mother and an aged matron bereaved of her son, with a budget of extemporised letters, reveal the voluminousness and versatility of the philosopher who was selected to form the character of the imperial stripling whom he addressed as the "Soul" of the Republic—"the body placed under his government" (*animus Reipublicæ, illa corpus tuum*). Our sole aim here is to show the earnest and enthusiastic character of Seneca's Stoicism, in his own fluent style and elegant language, under the preceding divisions.

1. *Nature; or, the Physical Government of the Universe.*—The whole universe, as is well known, including the heavens and earth, became a magnificent temple crowded with gods and goddesses, at every point in the old worlds of Asia, Africa, and Europe; but the universal scepticism produced by the Hellenic and Roman poets and philosophers gave birth to a new "interpretation of Nature," as happened also at the revival of learning in modern Europe. The older Stoics spoke of the earth as a god; but the language employed by Cicero, Lucretius, Seneca, and his contemporaries prove that reform in physical science proceeded *pari passu* with moral, religious, and social reformation. To take an instance, "What else is Nature than God and Divine Reason implanted in the whole world and its parts? And if you term it Fate (*Fatum*=the spoken word or will of God) you will commit no mistake. For Fate is nothing else than an involved series of causes, and God is the first cause of all on which the others depend" (*Benef.* iv. 9). The language might be adopted by a "Christian advocate" in natural

theology. Accordingly we need not heap passage on passage to verify the change of opinion which had taken place in the minds of the cultured classes of Rome, in the Augustan age, on physical science. Every page of Pliny, the naturalist, and Strabo, the geographer, bears testimony to the rejection of supernatural agencies in the government of the universe.

The beauties and blessings of the state of nature—the golden age of the poets, are specially dwelt on in Hippolytus (2), Octavia (2), and Letter xc. Asia has now fallen into the background of European civilisation and culture. Man has become lord in the ascendant, and boasts of his conquests over nature in every department of art, architecture, commerce, and industry—Roman roads, bridges, aqueducts, law, tribute, soldiers and slaves, throughout the *totius orbis terrarum.*

2. *Human Nature; or, Personal, Domestic, and Political Government.*—What testimony, then, does Seneca bear regarding the state of Roman society sung to by Horatius, storied by Titus Livius, satirised by Juvenal, painted in *chiaroscuro*, and contrasted with the primitive culture of the "Germans" by Tacitus,—in a word, what judgment did the Roman moralist pass on common human nature in the Augustan age? "Our mind is at one time a king, and at another a tyrant; a king when it consults its honour, attends to the salvation of the body committed to it, and issues no base nor sordid orders. But when it is impotent, full of desires, and delicate, the title is transformed into a hateful and detestable tyrant,"—followed by the ordinary retinue of licentiousness and sensuality.

Here, there, and everywhere, moral counsels are crowded on every correspondent. "The mind should be main-

tained in a state of perfect equanimity, aspiring to the very heaven, beyond which nothing else exists but the mind of God, a portion of which descended into these mortal hearts. Nor should the body be regarded as a home, but only a lodging—ay, and a temporary lodging, which must be left behind" (*Epist.* xxxi. 120). Cicero and Seneca agree, then, in the divine origin of the human mind. Not only so, but the path of human honour and glory is open to all disciples of philosophy, without respect to birth or rank. "If there is anything good in philosophy, it is that it does not ask for a pedigree of nobility. All of us, if you look to our origin, sprang from the gods. A good mind is open to all. We are all noble in this respect. A hall full of smoky images of ancestors does not make a noble man. It is the soul which ennobles us. Socrates was not a patrician. Cleanthes carried water, and tilled his own garden. Philosophy did not receive Plato noble; it made him so" (*Epist.* xliv.).

Such ideas, however, harmonised with the popular struggles for the privilege of sharing all the offices of religion, the State, and the army, pervading the age of social development—the existence of civil equality and religious toleration, modified, no doubt, under the new Cæsarism and incessant military despotism consequent on the civil wars. And the liberty, fraternity, and equality promised to every member of the Christian brotherhood by Paul, was eagerly seized, especially by the slaves and outcasts, who joined the nucleus of the first Christian societies, in the heart of the great cities of the Roman Empire. Again, "What commandment shall we give"? says he. "Spare human life? What a small thing it is not to hurt any one whom we ought to benefit! Great indeed is the praise when man is considerate to man.

Shall we give orders to stretch out a hand to the shipwrecked, to point out the way to the wanderer, or to share his bread with the hungry? When all things which ought to be preferred are in question, I say, How can I briefly lay down a code of human duty? All that lies before our eyes, human and divine included, is one. We are members of one great body. Nature has brought us forth relations, when she gave birth to us out of the same elements, and for the same ends. She has put mutual love in our hearts and made us social beings. She established justice and equity. Under such a constitution it is more miserable to do injury than to be injured. Under such a government our hands are provided for giving assistance" (*Epist.* lxxv.).

Social love and fellowship is his moral code, and forgiveness is the natural consequence. "I know nothing more excellent than to grant forgiveness as frequently as necessary, and demand no return. Let your ordinary custom in this respect, then, be followed, to do nothing which you would wish to have done otherwise" (*Consol.* iv.). Of course no vengeance is permitted (*Ira*, ii. 32). "All excess is vicious; moderation ought to be maintained at all times. We are born in the kingdom of God; obedience to God is liberty."

All agree in accepting the golden mean as the ideal standard of moral judgment—the only practical course open to mankind, endowed with free-will, special temperaments, education, and social environment, in Europe, Asia, and Africa. So far as social life is concerned, the moral element is regarded as the chief source of the salvation (*salus*) of society. "Security must be gained by mutual security,"—in his address to Nero. "There is no necessity for raising lofty citadels, nor fortifying the

summit of precipitous rocks, nor hewing away the sides of mountains, and fencing ourselves with endless walls and towers. Clemency itself will surround a king with safeguards in the open plain." "The love of the citizens is the only impregnable fortress" (*Clement.* i. 19). "Heaven forbids us to injure our native country, and therefore citizen also, for he is a portion of our country. Every part will be sacred if we venerate the whole. Man also, for he is a citizen in a greater city to you. Will the feet attempt to injure the hands? or the hands the eyes? As all the members form one body, we are all interested in the preservation of the parts. So men should be gentle to each other, because we are born for society, and no society can be safe (*salvus*) without the love and guardianship of its parts" (*Ira*, ii. 31); and, like all the cultured classes of the Augustan age, nothing less than the world itself is his native land (*patria mea totus hic mundus*).

Here, at least, are found the first lines of the physiology of the social organism (also adopted by Paul), which has now assumed all the dignity and completeness of social science in the present day.

3. *The Nature and Character of Deity; or, Divine Government.*—On this subject also Seneca's originality lies in the pithy expression of his pure theology. Nature follows him wherever he goes, and furnishes perpetual scope for his contemplation; for, living according to nature (*convenienter naturæ*) is the watchword of the Stoic philosophy—"All that has been created, believe me, by that Being, whoever was the fashioner of the universe, whether omnipotent Deity or incorporeal reason, the artificer of such magnificent works, or a Divine Spirit, diffused through all, great and small, with equal power or fate, and one series of immutable and concatenated causes."

"I tolerate your hallucinations," says he to his brother Gallio, who came in contact with Paul in his missionary tours, "just as Jupiter, the greatest and best, does the silly stories of the poets, one of whom places wings, and another horns, on his head; one brings him on the stage as an adulterer; another, raging against the gods; one a parricide and usurper of his father's throne. Such conduct would be a disgrace to men themselves who believe in them" (*Happy Life*, xxvi.). "Why did God create the world? Out of mere goodness" (*Epist.* lxv.). "No sane man fears the gods. It is madness to dread salutary things. Nor can any one love what he fears" (*Benef.* iv. 19). "We ought, most assuredly, to live as in his presence, and think as if he inspected our inmost heart. Nothing is shut out from the eye of God" (*Epist.* lxxxiii.).

Such are the divine attributes of the omnipresent, omniscient, and benevolent Deity claiming the reverence and admiration of Seneca. Accordingly, he stoutly maintains that no evil can befall the "good man" under the divine government. All opposition in the battle of life is only exercise (*omnia adversa exercitationes putat*), and rises at last to the famous oratorical climax—"Behold a spectacle worthy of a God: the brave man placed in the lists with adverse fortune, as it were by God himself" (*Prov.* xxi.). The whole universe may sink in flames, but the soul of the Stoic breathes the atmosphere of spiritual serenity!

4. *Temple Ritual, or Religious Government.*—Can any reader be surprised that all the temples made with hands in Rome sank into insignificance in comparison with the shrine of the divinity discovered in the human heart? "Your hand need not be raised to heaven; you need not entreat the door-keeper to admit you to the ears of an

image, as if it were able to hear you better. God is near you; he is with you, within you—the guardian and recorder of our good and evil thoughts; and he treats us as we treat him" (*Epist.* xli. 73). "The first requirement in worshipping the gods is faith; the second is to acknowledge the majesty and goodness without which majesty cannot exist. To know that they preside over the government of the world, regulate all things by their own power, who exercise the guardianship of the human race, sometimes very attached to the interests of individuals. Evil they neither possess nor bestow; but they correct some and restrain others, and demand punishment; and sometimes punishment is inflicted under the appearance of goodness. Do you wish to make the gods your friends? (*propitiare*). Be good. Whoever imitates them offers sufficient worship" (*Epist.* xcv.).

The very quintessence of divine service is union and communion in spirit with divine goodness itself! Stamp it "mystical" who may, it is identical with the "essence of Christianity, according to the Gospel of John, and "the Reformers before the Reformation."

5. *Future Life.*—Since "nobody is such a child as to dread Cerberus and darkness, the revolving wheel of Ixion, nor the rolling stone of Sisyphus, nor the story of Prometheus torn by vultures and daily renewed," and the whole poetic panorama of futurity had vanished like an old scroll, what consolation does the Roman moralist offer to soothe the sorrowing heart of Marcia, who lost her son? A long philosophical and sympathetic letter of twenty-six chapters, urging her to stand fast in the principles of her Reformed school of theology, sustain her loss with proper equanimity, regard death as a blessing and the termination of life according to the will of God, and the com-

mencement of immortal happiness in company of the great and good men of all ages, engaged in the contemplation of celestial and terrestrial "mysteries," concealed from the ken of mortals on earth. Take his own words: —"When his soul was raised to heaven and fled to the company of blessed spirits, and the sacred throng received him—the Scipios, the Catos, the disposers of human life, liberated by the kindly act of death (*beneficium mortis*)—your parent, Marcia, will rejoice to teach him the path of the neighbouring stars, and take pleasure in initiating him into all the secrets of nature and celestial causes, which only form the theme of conjecture on earth, and his soul will take delight in looking down on the old scene of his life" (*Consol.*). The only difference between the consolations and rewards offered by the Roman and Jewish moralists lies in their future society and occupapations. The Roman philosopher passes his life in the hope of ascending to the home of the great and good men of his own race; while the Jew boasts of sitting down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—the patriarchs, poets, and prophets of his own people—in heaven. And, O man! who are you to prove the injustice?

6. *Pre-visions.*—Seneca's physical theory of the earth and man was common to the Stoic school of philosophy. "Whatever has a beginning will also have an end. Some threaten the world itself with destruction, and the whole of the universe, which embraces all divine and human things, if you think it lawful to believe it, will vanish some day and sink into original confusion and darkness" (*Consol. ad Polyb.* xx.). "But when the time for the renewal, according to the will of God, has arrived, after the conflagration of the heaven and earth, we also, happy souls, who issued from the eternal mansions, will return

to our original elements. Happy your son, O Marcia, who has already learned this knowledge in heaven" (xxvi.).

We have thus adduced a body of evidence from the works of the leading representatives of the Roman statesmen, scientists, and moralists of the Augustan age, for the express purpose of showing that one and all of them renounced the old faith of Rome, and adopted the doctrine of the reformed and moral Theism common to all the cultured classes of the Roman Empire.

The date of Cicero's death was B.C. 43; of Lucretius, B.C. 52; and of Seneca, A.D. 65. The statesman and the scientist were therefore totally ignorant of Galileanism; and there is not the slightest hint that Seneca was acquainted either with Galileanism or Christianism. Titus Livius, the eminent Roman historian, died A.D. 17, when Jesus, the Jewish Reformer, served his apprenticeship with his father Joseph, the carpenter of Nazareth, in the Galilean highlands; and all that Tacitus, the historian of the emperors, Britain, and Germany knew of the Galilean sect, "everywhere spoken against," was that it bore the title of a "deadly superstition" (*exitiabilis superstitio*). Our demonstration, then, must be regarded, by every unprejudiced mind, as complete. The reformers of the Roman Empire formed an independent centre of religious distribution; and the union of the Roman, Hellenic, Alexandrian, Jewish, and Oriental elements in the composition of Christianity will fall under our consideration at a later date.

The same course might easily have been followed by the analysis of the opinions of Virgilius, the Milton of Rome (B.C. 70-19); Horatius (B.C. 65 to A.D. 8); Titus Livius (B.C. 59 to A.D. 17); Tacitus (A.D. 60-100); Juvenal (A.D. 40-120); Plinius (A.D. 23-79); and Strabo (B.C. 54 to

A.D. 21); as well as the two great Stoics, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus—a course which would have illustrated the progress of intellectual, moral, and social development in the Roman Empire, and still awaits the critical pen of a scientific historian. But we elect to refer all our readers who desire additional satisfaction, to the pages of Leckie's *History of Morals,* in which they can gauge the "spirit of the long series of Pagan moralists who taught at Rome during the period that elapsed between the rise of Roman philosophy and the triumph of Christianity."

We append the reflections which occurred to the mind of Gibbon, the profound historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* on the subject; and although he occupied a different standpoint during the last century, it will be observed that they lend confirmation to the preceding survey.

"The names of Seneca, of the elder and the younger Pliny, of Tacitus, of Plutarch, of Galen, of the slave Epictetus, and of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, adorn the age in which they flourished, and exalt the dignity of human nature. They filled with glory their respective stations, either in active or contemplative life; their excellent understanding was improved by study; philosophy had purified their minds from the prejudices of the popular superstition; and their days were spent in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue. Yet all these sages (it is no less an object of surprise than of concern) overlooked, or rejected the perfection of the Christian system. Their language or their silence equally discover their contempt for the growing sect which in their time had diffused itself over the Roman Empire. Those among them who condescend to mention the

Christians, consider them only as obstinate and perverse enthusiasts, who exacted an implicit submission to their mysterious doctrines without being able to produce a single argument that could engage the attention of men of sense and learning" (chap. xv.).

We shall meet with numerous opportunities of noticing the influence of Roman genius and philosophy in moulding the nature of the New Religion of the Roman Empire. The moral law of Moses was, of course, the foundation of the reformed faith of Paul, the Roman reformer; but the cosmopolitan character of his Christianity, and moral autonomy, was undoubtedly due to his Roman education and associations.

CHAPTER II.

FIFTH PHASE.—ROMAN CHRISTIANITY—PAUL THE REFORMER OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

"Now I say that Jesus was anointed (χριστὸς) a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made to the fathers. But I have written the more boldly to you, partly to put you in mind of the favour granted to me by God, of being the minister of the anointed Jesus to the nations."—ROMANS xv.

WHAT are the distinctive dogmas of Christianity according to the presentation of Paul's "Gospel"? And our reply must be taken from the "Acts of the Apostles" and his own letters. Nothing but the merest notes and memoranda of Paul's addresses (in all probability furnished by himself to Luke, his own physician) are given in the Acts of the Apostles. At the same time,

we must regard his letters, and the history of the planting and propagation of the Christian churches, as the only sources of the life and opinions of Paul, the reformer of the Roman Empire.

Keen disputes are carried on regarding the genuineness and authenticity of the surviving letters of Paul. Textual criticism and historical introductions are perpetually appearing from the press of all countries. The most trenchant criticism would cut off all the letters except those addressed to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians. But the mere number does not affect the question at issue, in the slightest degree. The fundamental question started for discussion between Peter and Paul,—the Jewish and Roman Christians of the age, is well known, and cannot be denied by any modern school of criticism. Was the Jewish law—the Levitical Law of Moses, including the Temple ritual, sacerdotal hierarchy, sacred Sabbaths, the holy persons, places, and periods peculiar to the Jewish nation—binding on the members of the Christian Church (ἐκκλησία) founded by Paul in the large cities of the Roman Empire ?

Such was the fundamental question at issue between the Jewish and Roman Christians of the age which rent the Christian Church into two parties, headed by Peter, "the Apostle of the Circumcision," and Paul, "the Apostle of the Gentiles" (ἔθνη=nations), embraced within the limits of the Roman Empire; gave rise to the first Christian Council at Jerusalem, the publication of the first Christian "decrees" and circular letters sent to the early Churches established by Paul; forms the perpetual theme of all his letters addressed to the Christians of the age, during the progress of the reformation of the Roman Empire; led frequently to popular commotions and per-

secutions; and finally to his imprisonment, trial, and crucifixion at Rome, according to the Acts of the Apostles, and ecclesiastical tradition.

Be it fully understood, then, at the outset, that no doubt whatever exists on this point, in any school of modern criticism. Opinions varied, however, in the days of Eusebius, as they still vary, regarding the credibility of the Acts of the Apostles.

The exact chronology of Paul's letters, also, is an open question; but the general conformity of critics on this subject is quite sufficient for the purpose of tracing the development of the reformation of religious and moral opinion. Here is the programme of Archdeacon Farrar, taken from *The Message of the Books*, which may at least be used for reference:—

Chronology of Paul's Letters.

1st Thessalonians, A.D. 52, Corinth.	Colossians, A.D. 63.
2d Thessalonians, A.D. 53, Corinth.	Philemon, A.D. 63.
1st Corinthians, A.D. 57, Ephesus.	Ephesians, A.D. 63.
2d Corinthians, A.D. 58, Philippi.	1st Timothy, A.D. 65.
Galatians, . A.D. 58, Corinth.	Titus, . A.D. 66.
Romans, . A.D. 58, Corinth.	2d Timothy, A.D. 67, Rome.
Philippians, A.D. 62, Rome.	

1. The first letter to the Thessalonians, written nearly twenty years after his adoption of the new faith, deals chiefly with "Eschatology" or "The Last Things," *i.e.* the reappearance of the Jewish Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, and the ascension of his followers to heaven, according to the hereditary and traditional speculations of the Pharisaic sect he belonged to, by birth and education. They may be properly termed "visionary" (*schwärmerisch*), because they vanished, as we shall see, from his religious horizons.

2. The second series — Corinthians, Galatians, and

Romans—are thoroughgoing expositions of the old and new faith, Jewish and Roman Christianity, and form the soul and body of Christian doctrine and duty, according to the cosmopolitan and universal religion announced by the Roman reformer. Assuredly they merit the title of "Controversial."

3. The third series—Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians—dictated from his prison in Rome, after a long course of reforming experience of thirty years, is full of lofty spiritual ideals—the exalted dignity, union, and unity of the Christian brotherhood, "the household of God;" and may be termed "Religious, moral, and social Ideals."

And the last series—Timothy and Titus—lays down rules and regulations for the election and direction of the religious teachers of the Christian brotherhood, and may be entitled "governmental," as is also the case with large portions of the preceding series. But the contents of Paul's letters will come before us according to their subjects, under our systematic divisions.

The birth and life of Paul before and after his conversion—first, the Pharisee, and then the Christian missionary, journeys, persecutions, discourses, controversies with Peter, James, and John at Antioch and Jerusalem,—discussions with Stoics, Epicureans, Jews, and Hellenic Jews, trials and imprisonment—have been illustrated by the representatives of all the Papal and Protestant sects of modern times. And Trinitarian and Unitarian, Calvinist and Arminian, profess to raise their clashing systems on the same Pauline foundation. Similar disunion and distinctions met him, in fact, at every point in the Roman Empire; and his birth and youth spent in Tarsus, "no mean city" in Cilicia, in Western Asia, must have rendered

him familiar with all the religions and philosophies of the day. According to his own account, he belonged to the straitest sect of the Pharisees; sat at the feet of Gamaliel in Jerusalem; occupied the position of delegate of the Jewish Sanhedrim (Council) to witness the judicial death of Stephen, the Galilean martyr; and could scarcely have escaped from some knowledge of the person and doctrine of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, who preached openly to the people in the courts of the Temple. Be that as it may, the young delegate of the Sanhedrim was placed at the head of a roving commission to root out the deluded followers of the False Prophet, who failed in his mission, as the priesthood thought, to restore the kingdom of Israel; and succeeded for some time, at least, in persecuting and putting to death many of the "sect of Galileans everywhere spoken against."

The story of his conversion is told twice by himself—on the Temple stairs to the people deeply offended by his apostasy (Acts xxii. 24); in the presence of King Agrippa at Cæsarea (Acts xxvi.); and once by Luke, his own physician (Acts ix.); and has foiled all attempts of critics to reconcile its apparent inconsistencies. Luke says that the men who journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man, while Paul himself declares, "They that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid, but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me." The Lord appeared to Ananias, according to Luke, whereas Paul states that "one Ananias, a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews who dwelt there, came to me, and stood and said to me, Brother Paul, receive thy sight." The voice said on two occasions, "Arise and go to Damascus, and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do;" whereas

no Ananias appears in the scene in Paul's speech addressed to Agrippa; and the voice seals his mission of Apostle of the Gentiles, questioned by the Jews, with divine authority—"Arise and stand on thy feet, for to this end have I appeared unto thee, to appoint thee a minister and a witness both of the things wherein thou hast seen me, and of the things wherein I will appear to thee, delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, to whom I send thee."

The gist of the story lies in the "voice" of heaven, and the divine judgments and intimations given to men, according to the popular superstitions of the Jews, as well as of the Greeks and Orientals. The sacred books of the Jews are full of such divine conversations with mankind. Josephus frequently refers to them; and a parallel case is mentioned in the life of Jesus according to John (xii.), in which the "voice" is ascribed not only to thunder, but an angel, and God himself. So far then as the "voice" is concerned in this passage, the voice of the thunder was heard by Paul's companions; but they did not hear the "voice" of heaven which spoke to Paul's own heart, the divine judgment which forms the turning-point of his destiny, and impelled him to join the ranks of the persecuted sect of Galileans, identified with the Founder in heaven. When Augustine, the chief of the Roman fathers, reclined in Milan beneath a tree in meditation regarding the truth of the old and new faith of the Roman Empire, the utterance of the words, "Tolle et lege" (Take it and read it) from a neighbouring window, was regarded as a special divine "voice" and commission to himself, and he made assurance doubly sure by trying the "Vergilian lots" with the New Testament; and the passage turned up which condemned his irregular life of Roman concu-

binage (Rom. xiii. 13). Did not Martin Luther, terrified by a thunderstorm, rush into a monastery, and devote himself to the service of God, and finally enter on the career of Protestant reformation? If the question be asked, Why did Paul, the Pharisee of Pharisees, apostatise from the faith of Moses? the reply is not far to seek. Representative as he was of the Jewish Sanhedrim, time after time he must have listened to the fervid faith of the persecuted disciples of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, taken down deposition after deposition before the Jewish tribunals, and summed up the evidence in favour of his divine mission. Accordingly when he was struck down by the thunderbolt from heaven, he at once accepted the divine "sign" and seal as the solution of the "problem of the age;" fled from Damascus and his enraged countrymen; spent three years in seclusion in Arabia; secretly visited Peter and James at Jerusalem three years afterwards; met them at the first council fourteen years later; disseminated Christianity in all the large cities of the Roman Empire; lectured on Mars Hill at Athens; was left for dead by stoning at Iconium; taken for God himself at Lystra; threatened with assassination at Jerusalem; kept in prison for a year at Cæsarea; shipwrecked in his voyage to Rome; chained to the feet of two soldiers in prison; and at last permitted to meet his friends in his own "hired house" in the city under surveillance.

Such is the merest outline of the chequered career of Paul, the Roman reformer, who founded Christian societies in Antioch, Ephesus, Colosse, Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, Galatia, and probably also at Athens and Rome, and addressed to them the letter which contains his peculiar "Gospel" (εὐαγγέλιον) or welcome message. Without any further preliminary remarks, then, on the life,

education, career, and character of Paul, the Roman reformer, we shall now proceed to analyse the miscellaneous contents of his original "Gospel."

Nature; or, the Physical Government of the Universe.—The primitive notions which Paul entertained regarding the origin and government of the physical universe were, of course, founded on the Mosaic account of creation:—sound in the main—according to the rudimentary science of the age, sufficient for all the practical purposes of human life; and furnished irrefragable evidence in favour of the existence and character of the living God, who "never left himself without witness in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness" (Rom. i. 19, Acts xiv. 17, xix.). The mere quotation of the poet Aratus of Tarsus (employed by Cicero in his "Nature of the Gods") on phenomena, in his speech at Athens—"In him we live and move and have our being," proves nothing more in his mouth than the dependence of mankind on God for the source and maintenance of life. The doctrine of Hindu Brahmanism—"Brahm is all"—ran throughout all the schools of poetry and philosophy, and assumed all forms of Pantheism, transmigration of souls, and materialism. Jewish Sadducees were probably tainted with it; but the enthusiastic reformer poured contempt on all "the profane and vain babblings and opposition of science (γνῶσις = knowledge) falsely so-called."

So far as the comparison between the perpetual birth and the resurrection of nature (κτίσις) and the old faith is concerned the mere adoption of the "likeness" does not authorise us in maintaining that he accepted the Stoic and Oriental belief in the periodic destruction and reconstruction of the world (Rom. viii. 19). Anyhow,

no such doctrine is imposed on his disciples, although it is found in the "disputed" second letter of Peter.

Human Nature; or, Personal, Domestic, and Political Government.—Paul's theory of human nature, however, demands greater attention at our hands; for all the system-builders during the last eighteen centuries have laid the foundation of their morals and moral philosophy on his Oriental definitions and distinctions. Whatever may have been the discussions of Paul with the Stoics, Epicureans, Peripatetics, and Cynics of the day, the divine origin of the human soul is taken for granted in all his letters, as was to be expected in a Jewish Pharisee who believed in "Moses, the Psalms, and prophets" of his own nation. The term "Napistur," as we learn from Boscawen's Lectures in the British Museum, on Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, is applied to the human soul, which departs as a "shade" to the land of darkness in the under-world, and corresponds to the Hebrew "Nephesh," which the "Elohim" (displaced at a later date by "Jahveh" = Being, of Mosaic theology) breathed into the nostrils of mankind. The body of man (Adam) was made in the image of God, according to the "primitive culture" of the ancient Hebrews, where gods assumed human shape in everyday life, and angels ate kid with Abraham, the father of the faithful and "friend of God." But if any critic urges that the creation of the soul is implied in the first as well as in the second passage of the Jahvistic and Elohistic documents, we are ready with the reply that we are not bound to accept the literal interpretation of popular phraseology. But the God of the later Jews, Philo, and the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, was a "Spirit;" and the only reference made to the subject by Paul implies the transformation of the

mind by the reception of new knowledge. Our scientific expression in the present day is that man was created in the "type" or image of the human species in the mind of the Creator.

The serpent standing beside a tree has been found on the sculpture and cylinders, represents the source of moral seduction and temptation, and forms the Shemitic story of the origin of sin and evil in the world common to all the races of Western Asia. But the actual forbidden fruit of any race, tribe, or society is, of course, prescribed by their definite moral and social code. For aught we know to the contrary, the shrine-maker who cried out "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," and believed that all the evils of the world escaped from Pandora's box, might be a rigid Stoic, a temperate Epicurean, a philosophical Aristotelian, an ideal Platonist, or a pessimistic Cynic barking at the whole world; and yet part with his "furies" in favour of the Pauline "Satan" and "Diabolos," the "accuser of the brethren," and the "adversary of God." Many a descendant of the Persians who fought the Greeks at Thermopylæ and Marathon, and ascribed good and evil to Ormuzd and Ahriman, may have exchanged them for the "god of light" and "darkness" offered by the school of John at Ephesus. Numbers, also, who traced the struggle of existence between the flesh (σὰρξ) and spirit (πνεῦμα) to the Hindu metempsychosis, or the passage of the soul through a series of animals, both in Greek and Roman philosophy, could easily concur with the idea of the hereditary transmission of sin and corruption expounded by Paul.

Practically the imprisonment of the soul—a portion of the Deity—in the human body, according to the philosophy of Cicero and Seneca, as well as Philo and all

Oriental religions, differed little from the doctrine of Paul, the Hellenistic Jew of Tarsus, and naturalised citizen of the Roman Empire: "By one man" (Adam, the common father of mankind) "sin entered into the world, and death by sin;" "I know that in me" (*i.e.* in my flesh) "dwelleth no good thing, for to will is present with me; how to perform that which is good I find not;" "For the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other, so that you cannot do the things you would;" and adds a catalogue of the works of the flesh and spirit, which any one can extend *ad infinitum*, according to the principle of moral antithesis and antipathy. "Death entered the world by sin"—the common Jewish notion—runs counter to the "Stony Bible," the progressive series of fossiliferous plants and animals preserved in the primary, secondary, and tertiary museums of nature beneath our feet and the immeasurable antiquity of the earth. But the defective science of Paul did not affect the practical utility of his moral doctrine.

The same assertion also requires to be made regarding the seductive serpent and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, "the wiles of the devil," which form the subject of Paul's fervid and admonitory counsels. Not a single good or evil angel is mentioned in the Mosaic account of creation. "Satan," the adversary of Jahveh, we found in our preliminary survey of Jewish literature, did not make his appearance until after the Babylonian captivity (Zechariah); and all the terrific descriptions of hell, prepared for the devil and his fallen angels, only startle us in the visions of the later Book of Enoch. We shall see by and by that the conquest of the "spirit" over the "flesh"—of the human soul over all its passions and

propensities, is practicable according to any theory,—Oriental or Occidental, Hebrew, Hellenic, or Roman.

Such are the Pauline and contemporary theories of the origin of the human soul, sin, evil, and death; but they are mere theories, and sink into insignificance in comparison with his exposition of the law of nature and morals—the divine standard of moral judgment provided for the guidance of the flesh and spirit, body and soul, of all mankind.

"What shall we say, then?" to the Roman Christian who possessed no sacred books and acknowledged no law except the civil and municipal law of Rome, is the fundamental question started by the reformer in his systematic letter to the Roman Church. "Not the hearers of a law are just before God, but the doers of a law shall be justified; for when Gentiles who have no law do by nature the things of the law, these having no law, are a law to themselves, in that they show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, and their thoughts one with another, accusing or else excusing them" (Rom. ii.). "The whole law is fulfilled in one word, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love, therefore, is the fulfilment of the law" (Gal. v., Rom. xiii.).

Here is a radical revolution in Jewish morals, at least, suggested, it may have been, by the saying of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee. The Ten Commandments written on two tables of stone have been ousted in favour of the law written in the hearts of mankind, and summed up in one word—"Love."

"What advantage, then, hath the Jew?" who maintained that "salvation was of the Jews." "Much, every way; chiefly because that unto them were committed the

oracles of God," is the reply of the reformer, who wished to soothe the national arrogance of his fellow-countrymen. But is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles (nations)? Yes, of the Gentiles also. "What shall we say, then, that Abraham our father, as pertaining to the flesh, found?" "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. Even as David also described the blessedness of the man to whom God imputes righteousness without the works of the Levitical law. Blessed is the man to whom God will not impute sin." Here are seen the very steps of Paul's process of reasoning in reconciling the Jewish nationalists to the new faith in the Lawgiver of all mankind, who "made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth, and determined their appointed periods and the bounds of their habitation." We shall see, by and by, the independent dignity and honour conferred on the Christian brotherhood in consequence of this moral revolution and abrogation of the law of Moses. Abraham, the "Father of the Faithful" and founder of the nation, was a "just man," and earned the title of the "Friend of God," by simple faith, 430 years before the introduction of the law of Moses (Gal. iii. 17). And the royal poet and warrior was the favourite of the people (the man after Jahveh's own heart) by faith in divine forgiveness.

The distinction drawn between the body (σῶμα) or flesh (σὰρξ), soul (ψυχὴ), and spirit (πνεῦμα), is Jewish as well as Roman, Hellenic, and Oriental, and was surpassed by Aristotle in the following passage: "For life man appears to share in common with plants, but his peculiar work is the object of our inquiry. We must, therefore, separate the life of nutrition and growth. Then a kind of sensitive life would next follow, but this also he appears

to enjoy in common with the horse, the ox, and every other animal. There remains, therefore, a certain practical life of a being which possesses reason" (*Nicom. Eth.* i. 7). The dualism of the cerebral hemispheres, neurile identity, and the dissection of the nervous, sanguineous, muscular and digestive system of the physical organism revealed by the study of comparative animal and human physiology, are discoveries of the present age, and formed a *terra incognita,* like the "New World" to the philosophers of the Augustan age.

Be that as it may, if we keep these distinctions in mind, they will serve to explain some statements of Paul which have been wrested from their original significance; *e.g.*, "There is therefore no condemnation to those who are in the anointed Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit" (πνεῦμα), the divine soul or understanding, which is "the candle of the Lord" (Rom. viii.); for they recognise no authority except the divine "law of nature," written on the fleshly tablets of their hearts. And also the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. "It is sown a natural body (σῶμα ψυχικὸν), it is raised a spiritual body" (σῶμα πνευματικὸν). But this subject comes up again under a future division.

When we consider that the law of nature superseded the Levitical Law of Moses, Temple ritual, priesthood, service, sacrifices, and Sabbaths, the student will easily understand why the reformer should have given repeated counsels to the disciples of the new faith and prescribed a specific code of duties to virgins, husbands, wives, children, citizens, slaves, and the poor. The common charge brought against the Christians was blasphemy and atheism, because they spoke against "Moses, the holy place, and the law," *e.g.* (Rom. xiii.). One of the earliest arrangements of the

Galilean sect was the appointment of a committee of six deacons (διάκονοι, officials) to superintend the distribution of the common fund for the benefit of the poor widows, "as every one had need;" and Paul himself was sometimes made the vehicle of Christian benevolence. All these subjects, however, will be referred to, in greater detail, under the "Law of Love."

The only other remark we deem it necessary to add under this head, is founded on the salutations attached to Paul's letters, and the volumes which they speak in favour of the deep and lasting friendship, affection, and gratitude which existed between the reformer and his faithful disciples. The only drawback is our ignorance regarding the actual rank and status in social life of these brothers and sisters of the new faith—kindred souls, no doubt, who rejoiced in the new-born liberty, fraternity, and equality of the members of the Christian "kingdom of God." Phebe was "a succourer of many, and myself also;" Priscilla and Aquila, well-known missionaries, "who have laid down their own necks for my life." Epænetus was the first-fruits of his labours in Achaia. Andronicus, Junia, Herodion, Jason, and Sosipater were his own kinsmen, and had joined their ranks before himself. One had been a mother to him. Some belonged to Cæsar's household. Some had a church (assembly) in their own house; and sometimes the friendly requisition is, "Prepare me a lodging, for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given to you," out of his Roman prison. All positions in human life are balanced with social compensations, as could easily be proved from the *Table Talk* of Martin Luther, as well as the lives and letters of our Protestant reformers in the 16th century. We mean exactly what we say when we assert that the life and letters of Paul, the Roman reformer,

merit the title of the "Romance of the Christian Reformation."

The Nature and Character of God; or, Divine Government. —We need scarcely say that Paul's conception of God corresponded to his opinions regarding the physical and moral government of nature and human nature; and formed the appropriate crown to his cosmopolitan theology. Feature after feature of the divine character and government, according to Paul, comes out in all his letters and public addresses. The first lines of his Christian theology are laid down in the letter addressed to the Romans, viz. his everlasting power and divineness (θειότης) discernible in the volume of nature (Rom. i. 20). The notes of a second lecture add the round of the seasons, rain, food, and divine goodness, filling our hearts with goodness, out of the same exhaustless volume. The gist of a third brilliant oration delivered on Mars Hill at Athens, the capital of Hellenic culture, glorifies the Lord of heaven and earth, the source of all life, breath, and all things, who made all nations of men, his offspring (γένος =kind) of one blood, to dwell on the face of the earth; determined the appointed periods of their birth, prime, and dissolution, as well as the limits of their empire: who dwells not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands as though he needed anything, and now commands all men everywhere to reform their religion, in accordance with the faith of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, who ascended to heaven. But all details are unnecessary. If young Paul, the representative of the straitest sect of Jewish Pharisees, ever regarded God as the God of the Jews only, and believed that all the nations who feared not Jahveh would be thrown into hell,—the local, provincial, and tutelary Deity of

the Jewish nation has suffered total and everlasting eclipse in the presence of "one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all" (Ephes. iv.).

Time after time he must have proved from their own poets and philosophers, as Cicero did from Aratus of Tarsus on Phenomena, and such like, the existence and attributes of "the Father of all," the unity and uniformity of the divine government; and pointed out the striking contrast between the divine character of the God of the Christians and the 30,000 gods and goddesses of the Roman and Greek Pantheon. But only a passing notice is made to "the Lords many and Gods many," crowding the temples of all the large cities of the Roman Empire. The fact is, however, that a Jewish Protestant never could do justice to the Oriental, Hellenic, and Roman Polytheism and Idolatry (*εἰδωλα-λατρεία* = worship by images) of the surrounding races, any more than their successors who denounce the Roman Christians of to-day, because they have eclipsed the God of Christendom with hosts of deified "Saints" and spiritual heroes. And yet all critics are aware that they never confound the "creature" with the "Creator," and draw the distinction between the service (*δουλία*) due to the "Saints;" higher service (*ὑπὲρ δουλία*) due to the "Virgin Mother of God" and "Queen of Heaven;" and the "Divine Service" (*λατρεία*) due only to "our Father who is in heaven."

"I say that the things which the Gentiles (nations) sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils (*δαιμόνια*) and not to God. But I do not wish you to hold fellowship with devils," or imitate their conduct, sums up the Jewish faith on Polytheism and Idolatry (1 Cor. x. 20).

"Cry aloud: for he is a god: either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or perhaps he is sleep-

ing, and must be awakened" (1 Kings xviii.), was the contemptuous mocking poured on the priests of Baal (the Lord of Heaven) by Elijah the Gileadite, on the other side of Jordan. Isaiah revels in ridiculing the smiths and carpenters, who cook their food with one portion of a tree, and carve a God out of the other, for worship of "lying vanities and abominations" (Isa. xliv.), and Paul repeats the same doctrine: "We know that an idol is nothing in the world," and that "there is no other God but one." The cloaked professors and masters of Cicero and Augustus Cæsar might tell him that "Divine Wisdom" personified in the Pallas Minerva, who issued from the head of Zeus (Dyaus-piter = Father of Light), and stood in the "Parthenon," was the object of their adoration and worship. "We ought not to think that the Divine Being (*τὸ θεῖον*) is like to gold or silver, or stone graven by art and man's device," said Paul at Athens. Seneca and Tacitus might have assured him that they worshipped the supreme "Father of gods and men seated in the capitol of Rome." "I say you sacrifice to devils," would have been his steady reply. Ay, the most ethereal Platonist of the age might have urged his belief in the Soul of souls—Pure Being itself (*ὄν*). All philosophers would have asserted their common belief in the presence of a divine "Power" (*δύναμις*), in the visible image and representation. But the only reply would have been, "Profane and vain babblings of science (*γνῶσις* = knowledge) falsely so-called."

Not one mite of thanks or gratitude is expressed to a single Greek or Roman poet or philosopher; and the only mode of accounting for the striking phenomenon is his repeated claim of equal authority with the original apostle, Jesus of Nazareth of Galilee, and the possession of the

"Spirit of God," as well as he himself (1 Cor. vii. 40). However that be, "the same Lord over all is rich to all that call on him," both according to Roman and Pauline cosmopolitan theology.

At every step in the course of his mental, moral, and religious development, the sublimity, majesty, and universality of the divine government breaks on his view. The long course of his national history looms before his eyes from Adam down to Moses, David, and the approximating "fulness of the time"—the close and consummation of the nation's existence. The law of Moses was only a schoolmaster to prepare them for the reception of the "kingdom of God," embracing all the nations of the earth; and his soul, elevated by the expansive grandeur and majesty of the divine "education of mankind," bursts out in coruscations of exultation and ecstasy—"O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who has known the mind of the Lord? who has been his counsellor? or who has first given to him, and shall be recompensed again?" (Rom. xi.).

Two visions and a great sheet, full of all the living animals on the face of the earth, were employed to open the eyes of Peter to the same universal "revelation" (ἀποκάλυψις = unveiling) of the new faith, according to the "Acts of the Apostles" (chap. x.). "Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons. But in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." And this discovery is quite in harmony with Peter's discourse, and the outpouring of the Spirit of God on all flesh.

The question remains, who opened the eyes of Paul to the universal grandeur and extent of the "kingdom of

God," the divine government of all nations on the face of the earth? His own affirmation is—"I certify to you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) of the anointed Jesus" (Gal. i.). "I conferred not with flesh and blood," he says, "neither went I up to Jerusalem to them who were apostles before me, but I went into Arabia, and returned again to Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James, the Master's brother." "Then fourteen years after I went up again (Gal. ii.) to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation (?), and communicated to them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles (nations), but privately to them who were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run, in vain." Afraid lest by any means he had run in vain, and preached another gospel than the gospel according to Peter, James, and John, the pillars of the Church at Jerusalem! Is that the language of a missionary who held a personal interview with Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, in the air, on the road to Damascus? received a commission to proclaim the "kingdom of God" to all nations on the face of the earth, and counted himself not one whit behind the chief of the apostles, though born out of due time, as some interpreters would have us believe? "Arise and go into the city (Damascus), and it shall be told you what you must do," are the words of the first account of the "heavenly vision." The second repeats them with the assurance of Ananias (who baptized him and forgave his sins) that he had received a call from heaven to bear

witness to the resurrection and ascension of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee. The third puts the words into the mouth of the risen Prophet himself, and his own statement to the Galatians is that the gospel "which was preached by me was not after man. For I neither have received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by revelation of the anointed Jesus." To our minds there is no inconsistency whatever in these successive accounts to a Christian who believed that "he that established us with you in the anointed (χριστὸς), and has anointed us, is God" (2 Cor. i.). The divine "judgment" settled the whole matter in the minds of Paul and Ananias, and when he confessed, probably in the same words he did afterwards, "I was a blasphemer and a persecutor, and injurious, the chief of sinners. I obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly in unbelief,"—his sins were forgiven by Ananias, a devout man according to the law, and Paul was received by baptism into "the sect of Galileans everywhere spoken against." Accordingly the words of Ananias are put into the mouth of his Master, because they were uttered in his name, and by his authority—a practice which commenced in that age, and has survived to the present day—a striking example of which is found in the formula adopted at the first Christian Council of Jerusalem, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us," etc.

Such an identification of human and divine opinions is common to all religions. And we shall find Paul, the Roman reformer, asserting in the midst of his religious converts, "And I think also that I have the Spirit of God," as well as the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee.

Can any rational critic doubt that the young reformer spent his two years in Arabia in searching the Jewish Scriptures, verifying his new opinions, and preparing for

the propagation of the gospel, which the Spirit of God, poured out on all flesh, "unveiled" to his mind? What those opinions were is evident from his own defence before King Agrippa, a Jew himself, who averred that he had done nothing worthy of death or bonds: "I stand here to be judged for the hope of the promise made of God to our fathers, to which promise our twelve tribes, earnestly serving God night and day, hope to attain. Having therefore obtained the help that is from God, I stand unto this day testifying both to small and great, saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses did say should come: how that the Christ must suffer, and how that he, first by the resurrection of the dead, should proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles (Acts xxvi.).

Down to his last imprisonment, thirty years afterwards, Paul conformed more or less to the law of Moses in his own person; and the pressure of his friends in Jerusalem induced him to pay a vow and shave his head, but led to his arrest and imprisonment. Twenty years at least must have expired before his controversy with Peter, James, and John, the defenders of primitive Galileanism and Jewish Christianity, and the settlement of the first compromise at the Council of Jerusalem, to liberate Paul's Roman disciples from the Temple ritual and sacrifices of the Jewish nation. But the perpetual course of discussion which he carried on with the disciples of all the religions of Asia, Africa, and Europe, thronging the large cities of the Roman Empire, and association with his fellow-labourers—Hellenistic Christians — Barnabas, a rich Jew of Cyprus, who introduced him to the fellowship of Marcus, his sister's son; Apollos of Alexandria, mighty in the Scriptures, and author of the letter to the Hebrews; Aquila and Priscilla of Pontus, in Western

Asia; Silas of Antioch, as well as his kinsmen in Rome who had joined the new faith before himself—must have slowly but surely contributed to his intellectual, moral, and religious development. Little is known of the biography of Paul's associates, but all of them were foreign or Hellenised Jews: some, like Timothy, the offspring of Jewish and Greek parents, and must have been prepared by their liberal education and tolerant tendencies to accept the Christian moral Theism and the "simplicity of the gospel." The only step required to be taken by Apollos, the disciple of Philo of Alexandria, was the renunciation of the sect of John the Baptist, and attachment to the cosmopolitan party of Paul, the Roman reformer. And the union of the Philonian-Appollonian mysticism and spiritualism with the Pauline "gospel," there is every reason to believe, completed the annihilation of Paul's native Pharisaism. So much at present for the various accounts of Paul's adoption of Galileanism—"the sect everywhere spoken against," which soon passed under the new name of Christian (Χριστιανός = oiled or anointed) at Antioch, as well as his Christian formulation of the Roman conception of God—"the Father of all men." "The ordinary laws of nature had not been reversed in his case," says Archdeacon Farrar; "and as he grew in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, so his own epistles, though each has its own divine purpose, undoubtedly display the kind of difference in his way of developing the truth, which we should ordinarily attribute to growth of mind."[1]

The tangled aspects of foreknowledge and free will occupied the critical genius of Paul, for popular illustration, and has given birth to a monstrous brood of

[1] *The Life and Work of St. Paul*, p. 222.

Augustinianism and Pelagianism, Calvinism, and Arminianism, Libertarianism and Necessitarianism, without end. When he marshalled the Romans and insurrectionary Jews of his own day, alongside of Pharaoh and his hosts overwhelmed in the Red Sea, in the presence of Moses and his emancipated slaves, he bowed his powerful mind before the goodness and severity of God displayed in the government of nations and social classes, who held graded offices and ranks amongst the people, compared to vessels of gold, silver, wood, and earth, in a great house. Why did God Almighty create Pharaoh, who claimed kinship with the sons of heaven, to rule over a nation of slaves? Why did he ordain Nero, the imperial Cæsar, to whom Paul appealed, to sway the destinies of the Roman Empire as the soul does the human body, according to the style of his tutor Seneca? Why did Jacob, the younger son, swindle his blind father and elder brother, Esau, out of his hereditary blessing and birthright? You might as well ask why does the potter fashion one vase for the palace, and another for the hut of the peasant, out of the same clay? why do the hosts of heaven roll round the central sun of varying magnitudes and concentric orbits? why are citizens of the same state and members of the same family endowed with diversities of Divine gifts, talents, and capacities?—is the popular and illustrative style of Paul's reasoning on the everlasting mystery of divine law and human liberty (Rom. ix.). "Every man is a law to himself" was inscribed on the front of Paul's religious and moral code. Hence his letters are strewed with counsels suited to every rank and class in civil, domestic, and religious government implying the existence of human liberty, rights, duties, and responsibilities (2 Tim. ii. 20).

Paul and Seneca—the one starting with and the other

without a "Satan," or adversary of God and author of evil—agree in regarding human life as a "contest" (*certamen*), carried on under the superintendence of the divine government. And the modern critic who would sit in judgment on the complicated drama of the universal life of humanity, must take into consideration, not only the hereditary character and temperament of the race,—the climate, and the physical environment,—but the combined social, moral, and religious influence of all the other races on the face of the earth. The solution of the profound problem of the formation of character, and the degree of free will eligible by the *dramatis personæ* of human life, we must leave to our metaphysical Utopians. The life of every individual is only self-government; but self-government limited, checked, surrounded, and therefore determined by the wills, passions, imaginations, and interests of endless individualities in the social environment.

The Old and New Temple, Law, Priesthood, Sacrifices, Sabbath.—If general unanimity regarding nature, human nature, the Divine character and government, existed amongst the followers of Jewish, Oriental, Alexandrian, and Roman Christianity, what are the distinctive doctrines which rent the new faith into dissentient parties, under the leadership of Peter, the apostle of the circumcision, and Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles (nations)? Our reply is, the substitution of the law of nature, or the moral law and the Christian brotherhood, the household of God, for the Temple of Solomon, the Levitical Law of Moses, the priesthood, sacrifices, and Sabbaths peculiar to the Jewish nation. That is the sum and substance of Paul's "gospel," or welcome message, contrasted with the primitive Galileanism of Peter, James, and John, who

maintained, "Except you be circumcised and keep the law of Moses, you cannot be saved."

Nominally, all interpreters would adopt this statement of the fundamental nature of the reformation of ancient Judaism, Orientalism, Hellenism, and Latinism; but the utmost diversity still exists regarding the very nature and idea of the Christian Church—the rights and responsibilities of its members—the law of love—Sabbaths and festivals—as well as of the Founder himself, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, as every one acquainted with the theological systems—the creeds, confessions, and catechisms of Christendom—is only too well aware.

No stress can be laid on the chronology or on the conflicting speeches of Paul reported by Luke, in the last of which the words of Ananias are put into the mouth of the risen Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee (who is supposed to dwell in the heavens above his head) to sanction his mission to the Gentiles (nations). The determined opposition which he encountered in the Jewish synagogues, according to the "Acts," leads us to believe that the new direction of his missionary efforts was the result of his own personal experiences. Luke's words are—"But when the Jews saw the multitudes they were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming. Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold and said, 'It was necessary that the Word of God should have been first spoken to you, but seeing you put it from you and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles.' But the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts. But they shook off the dust off their

feet against them" (Acts xiii.). Here the divine authority in favour of Paul's new policy is founded on the words of the prophet Isaiah. The striking series of romantic incidents, in fact, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles by his own physician Luke, from the triumphant progress and successful propagation of Paul's gospel in the Roman Empire, and all the divisions which existed amongst the reformers, could easily be paralleled in the dissensions which prevailed amongst their successors in the sixteenth century—the Socini and Servetus, Luther and Zwingle, Erasmus, Cranmer, and Sir Thomas More; *e.g.* Luther never cleared his mind of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, replaced by Con-substantiation; and substantially the same doctrine is retained by all modern Christians, who ascribe a magical and mystical sense to the mere survival of an old Oriental festival—eating and drinking bread and wine—the common terms and signs of social intercourse and communion.

The nature and extent of Paul's "gospel," theological doctrines, and opinions, will unfold themselves during the course of our expositions.

First, then, the origin of the term Christian (Χριστιανός =oiled, anointed) should be fully understood at the outset; for "Jesus Christ" is very frequently regarded, just like Martin Luther, as the name of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, by unlearned readers of the New Testament in our English translation. Accordingly we shall briefly allude to the primary and secondary meaning of the title of the Christian Faith.

"God's anointed" (Heb. Maschach; Greek Χριστὸς; Latin Unctus; English Christ, oiled, anointed). Who then are God's anointed according to the faith of the Jewish people? Primarily the princes, priests, and prophets who

were appointed and consecrated to their sacred office by pouring oil on their heads—symbolical of the divine gifts and graces—mental and moral power, prudence, and wisdom, required for the performance of the duties of civil, religious, moral, and social government, and enlightenment of the people. Any one can acquaint himself with the whole ceremonies of priestly consecration presented by the Levitical code of Moses (Exod. xxix.). Saul was the first Jewish king, on whose head the holy oil was poured by Samuel the prophet; and the secondary meaning soon becomes common in the mouths of the poets and people, and was applied to all the members of the holy nation (Psalm cv.).

The very first announcement we meet with in the biography of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee is made by Peter to his brother Andrew: "We have found the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, the Christ" (Χριστὸς = anointed). The gist of all the prophets' expectations, the longing for national independence, is condensed in the question—"How long do you make us to doubt? If you are the Christ tell us plainly?" And the high priest re-echoed it on his trial—"I adjure you by the living God that you tell us whether you be the Christ, the Son of God." In the first discourse delivered by Peter after his martyrdom, his words are—"You men of Israel, hear these words. Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as you yourselves also know—him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, you have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain. Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God has made that same Jesus, whom you have crucified,

both master and anointed" (χριστὸς). And lastly, the fervid commencement of Paul's own apostleship is specially remarked by Luke—"All that heard him were amazed. But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews who dwelt at Damascus, and proved that this one was the true anointed" (χριστὸς).

We have brought these passages, taken from the sacred books of the Jews and Christians, before the reader for the purpose of tracing the origin of the word "Christ" (anointed), and the epithet "Christian" (Χριστιανός = anointed), applied by the witty and satirical Antiochians to the disciples of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, because they all claimed to be "oiled" or anointed by God himself. "God's anointed," then, was the current expression and official title of the "deliverer" who was expected to re-establish their national independence. And the martyrdom of the Prophet, who was regarded by his Galilean disciples as the future King of the Jews, did not quench their patriotic and religious enthusiasm, for they persisted in proclaiming his return and reappearance from heaven, to "sit on the throne of the patriarch David." But all the members of his body were filled with the same spirit, termed "Christians," and claimed title of the old Jewish nation, a holy nation, a royal priesthood, kings and priests to God.

Such was the peculiar state of religious feeling amongst the Jewish Christians at the appearance of Paul, the Roman reformer. Let us now examine the transformation of opinion which took place on the subject during the long course of his Roman reformation.

The first stage of his opinions on Eschatology, or the "Last things," is patent to every critic of his earliest letters to the Thessalonians (A.D. 52), written about fifteen

years after his conversion, which stands first in our programme. Nothing more or less, in fact, than the hereditary "hope of Israel"—the fulfilment of all the visions of the fantastic Book of Enoch common to Jewish Christians. His own words are—"For you, brethren, became followers of the churches of God, which in Judæa are in the anointed (χριστὸς) Jesus. For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even you in the presence of our master the anointed Jesus at his coming?" (1 Thess. ii. 19).

The second letter was written to soothe the panic created by the first communication; and removed the divine vengeance, flaming fire and everlasting destruction threatened against all the disbelievers in his gospel, to a later date in Roman history. "We beseech you, brethren, that you be not shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition" (2 Thess. ii.). Some critics have questioned the genuineness and authenticity of the earliest letters of the incipient reformer, on account of their hereditary Pharisaism and Jewish Christianity. But all his letters and the biography of Luke, his own physician, prove that he showed the utmost caution after his conversion, and visited Peter, James, and John in Jerusalem, and only addressed the Gentiles (nations) after encountering the bigoted opposition of his Jewish fellow-countrymen. Several years after the council he still prides himself, as he did at the outset of his career, on the connection with the mother church at Jerusalem; and only protests

against those parties who forbade him to preach his "gospel" to the Gentiles. Such as they are, with their practical counsels, injunctions to brotherly love, and appeals to the common law of human nature—"You yourselves are taught of God to love one another"—buried although they be in the lurid clouds of flaming vengeance and future fires of everlasting destruction, we regard them as a fair sample of the "terrors of the law" hurled against the Gentiles (nations) by the Jewish prophets, as well as the earliest Jewish Christians, *e.g.* the destruction of Rome in John's "Revelation." His renunciations come later.

(A.D. 57-58). The rank, dignity, and mission of the risen prophet comes out in his letter to the Corinthians, in which he sustains the same relation to God as woman to man, who must call her husband "lord" (κύριος). "I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God" (1 Cor. xi.). The very same relationship was a great favourite with the Jewish prophets, and was frequently employed by Paul to illustrate the moral and spiritual union which should exist between the head and members of the body of the Christian brotherhood (Ephes. v.). Not only so, the close of the triumphant reign and "kingdom" of "God's anointed" is specially mentioned in the same letter. All his enemies, all rule, authority, and power, death itself among the number, ranged in opposition to the divine government, are destroyed. The royal favourite of heaven, who was exalted to a rank loftier than Moses and David, bows before the throne of the king of heaven, and lays aside the royal privileges and prerogatives of his anointed and appointed mission. Apparently this forms a new feature in the mission and destiny of the Prophet of Nazareth of

Galilee, according to Paul's "Gospel." "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. And when all things shall be subdued to him, then shall the Son also himself be subject to him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. xv.).

Such hopes of Jewish national independence obtained by the return of a martyred prophet would have been an offensive stumbling-block (*σκάνδαλον*) to the masters of the world. Accordingly, the only claim made by Paul in favour of the founder of the new faith, in his letter to the Romans, is based not on any distinction "according to the flesh," but on his resurrection from the dead, and ascension to heaven as a "Son of God" (Rom. i.).

To counteract any charges, it may be, of "setting forth strange doctrine," which led to his arrest at Athens, we find Paul counselling the Philippians in the following manner: "Let this mind be in you, which was also in the anointed Jesus, who, being made in the image of God, never thought of claiming equality with God. But made himself of no reputation, and took on him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men. And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also has highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name" (Philip. ii.). At any rate, the express allusion to the sufferings, martyrdom, and future exaltation of the founder of the Christian faith was calculated to rebut all charges of deification practised amongst the Greeks and Romans even with the emperors of the day. But "the fathers" yielded, we shall find, to

the current modes of thought and opinion, and placed him amongst the "gods" of the Christian heaven.

The next passage on this subject is met with in his letter to the Christians at Colosse, the very centre of Oriental Christianity, and has been subjected to the most erroneous misrepresentations from sheer ignorance of the Alexandrian and Oriental phraseology adopted by Paul and his "beloved brother, Apollos," in his letter to the Hebrews, as well as by the author of John's Gospel: "Giving thanks to the Father, who has made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light: who has delivered us from the power of darkness, and has translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son: who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature: for by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him: and he is before all things, and by him all things consist: and he is the head of the body, the church" (Colos. i.).

The sole object of Paul was to ascribe the possession of religious enlightenment to the Founder of the Faith, who was made in the image of God, in opposition to all the Hellenic and Oriental religions and philosophies of Western Asia: the disciples of Ormuzd and Ahriman, worshippers of the god of light and darkness, as well as all the "Gnostics" of the age, who boasted of the possession of the true knowledge (γνῶσις), and inspiration of the endless virtues (αἰὼν = everlasting power) descending from the divine fulness (πλήρωμα) in heaven (Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, chap. i.). The study of the future "fathers" of the Christian Church will show us the prodigious theological confusion which sprang from the fusion of all the

religions and philosophies prevalent in the Roman Empire from Britain to India.

The only other passage calling for attention in connection with this subject is found in Paul's first letter to Timothy, in which the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee is represented as the "mediator between God and men:" "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men—the man—the anointed Jesus" (1 Tim. ii.). But as the complete Temple and Levitical ritual was reduced to a "shadow" of good things to come by his "beloved brother Apollos," the mere comparison of the founder to a high priest who represents the Jewish people, and offered the sacrifices and prayers of the people in their name, and by their authority, could scarcely be misunderstood by a disciple of the Roman reformer who proclaimed the resignation of his delegated mission to earth, and the universal recognition and worship of God the Father, who is all in all.

All further controversy regarding the nature of the "mystery of godliness" has now been removed by the correct translation of 1 Timothy iii. 16, in the revised edition of the sacred Scriptures of the Christians. "Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness; he who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up into glory."

Such, then, are the opinions of Paul, the Roman reformer, regarding the divine mission, martyrdom, honours, and exalted glory of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee; and we have no reason to believe that they differed materially from those of the Jewish Christians. When he reminds the Romans, at a later date, that the anointed Jesus was only a "minister of the circumcision for the

truth of God to confirm the promise made to the fathers," and that the favour was given to himself by God to be "the minister of the anointed Jesus to the nations," he undoubtedly claimed a very high position; and when he afterwards preferred the claim of possessing the "Spirit of God," as well as his Master, we are inclined to think that his own mission as reformer of the Roman Empire had risen in his own estimation. What he really thought is a different question. However, we shall return to the subject under the head of a "Future Life."

But as we are now brought face to face with the remaining dogmas of Roman Christianity, according to Paul's "Gospel," we shall also follow the natural course of their development, step by step, with the assistance of the Acts of the Apostles, and especially the second series of his "Controversial" letters.

The first step taken by Paul, a few days after being struck blind in a thunderstorm, according to the Acts of the Apostles, was to appear in the Synagogue of Damascus, and declare his conversion to the "sect of Galileans everywhere spoken against,"—the consequence of which was a conspiracy to assassinate the apostle, and his escape over the walls of the town in a basket. No mention of such a step is made in Paul's letter to the Galatians: not even in the long catalogue of his reforming adventures, persecutions, and spiritual heroism, which he boasted of enduring in the service of the Church. His first three years were spent in Arabia, no doubt in studying the history of his own nation, and completing the moral and religious revolution which had taken place in his mind. Fifteen days only were passed privately with Peter and James, the pillars of the Church in Jerusalem, to compare his own with the "Gospel" of

the Galileans, at the close of the period. And discussion took place between Peter and Paul at Antioch regarding the imposition of the law of Moses on the members of foreign Churches at some later period.

Cæsarea, Tarsus, Seleucia, Cyprus, Paphos, Perga, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Mysia, Troas, Colosse, Philippi, Macedonia, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, Cenchrea, Galatia, Phrygia, Ephesus, Phœnicia, Ptolemais, Samaria, and Jerusalem—all shared in the privileges of his missionary labours, sometimes for a period of two years, and sometimes for a year and six months, as at Corinth, where he carried on public disputations "in the school of one Tyrannus;" and fourteen years passed before the occurrence of the first Christian Council held at Jerusalem by the representatives of the Jewish and Roman Christians. "Much disputing" took place on this occasion. All the favourite phrases of the Founder—"mercy and not sacrifice," "obedience and not sacrifice," would be brought forward; all the spiritual and universal tendencies of the reforming prophets would be adduced, as we find them recorded and "interpreted" in the "Gospels," "Acts," and "Letters." But the actual successes of Paul and Barnabas, the triumphant reception of Paul's Gospel, "without the law of Moses," by the Hellenic, Roman, and Oriental population, bore the seal of God himself. And the discovery dawned on Peter's mind that the "law of Moses was a yoke which neither their fathers nor they were able to bear;" "for God, who knows the heart, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Spirit even as he did to us, and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith." Accordingly, the rejection of the Levitical law of Moses was voted by the Council, which, nominally at least,

removed, the barrier to the progress of Paul's universal "Gospel" throughout the Roman Empire; and the decrees were sent to the Christian Churches "in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia." These were undoubtedly the "decrees" frequently referred to as the "traditions," "ordinances," and "form of sound words" delivered to the Christian Churches, and formed the nucleus of the first creed of Christendom. "The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting: It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us, to lay on you no greater burden than these necessary things: that you abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if you keep yourselves, you shall do well. Fare you well" (Acts xv.).

The first decree of the Christian Church was a grand triumph of Roman cosmopolitanism over Jewish nationalism; and the slight survival of hereditary superstition arising from ignorance of physiology and national bigotry—abstinence from blood and sacrificial animals—need not excite the surprise of Christians of the present age, who have been slowly compelled to sacrifice their own opinions in astronomy, geology, and physiology, regarding the antiquity of the earth, the revolution of the earth round the sun, and the cerebral centres of the human constitution. Strictly we cannot acquit them from the charge of blasphemy in assuming to speak in the name of God; but when we consider the illiterate and unsophisticated character of the Galileans, their Oriental surroundings and education, and faith in dreams and visions, spectres, demoniacal possession, exorcism, and lots, we must vote it mild blasphemy indeed, and rejoice that the ecclesiastical practice is gradually dying away in the religious teaching of the nineteenth century. Paul himself cut off one article regarding meat offered before

images from the first Christian creed during the course of his reformation.

The decrees of the Council, we said, only nominally removed the barrier standing in the way of Paul's "Gospel," both in the large cities of the Roman Empire and in the Temple of Jerusalem itself, as his own thrilling narrative of persecution bears witness (2 Cor. xi.). His well-known tolerant and cosmopolitan conformity, flexibility, and versatility of becoming all things to all men—living with the Jew as a Jew, and with the Greek as a Greek—led ultimately to his final arrest, trial, and imprisonment both in Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and Rome. The charge always brought against him was apostasy and opposition to "the people, the law, and the Temple." Sadducees and Pharisees were pitted against him in the Sanhedrim, on his trial on the question of his interview with a spirit or angel in the air; and he was only saved from being torn to pieces by the Roman captain, the representative of civil and social order in Jerusalem. Forty bigoted Jews swore an oath to assassinate the religious apostate; and the old reformer was saved again by the captain stealing a midnight march on his murderers, and lodging him in prison at Cæsarea—a city at least more Roman than Jerusalem. The high priest himself pursued him to Cæsarea, with an orator, Tertullus, at his heels. Felix, the governor, and Drusilla, his wife—a Jewess—listened to the famous reformer, on righteousness, temperance, and coming judgment, until they trembled. Two years afterwards he appealed from the tribunal of his successor, Festus, to Cæsar at Rome. The last time he stood before a Jewish court was in the presence of King Agrippa and Berenice—Jews themselves—and his verdict was, "This man does nothing worthy of death or

bonds." But to Rome he went, chained to a soldier—the victim of Jewish bigotry and persecution; suffered shipwreck once more; dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, by imperial favour, probably on the petition of his "kinsmen" in the palace; propagated his own "Gospel" of the kingdom or government of God; penned letter after letter, that the world will not willingly let die; and closed his long, chequered, and romantic career of Christian reformation for thirty years, on the cross, according to ecclesiastical tradition.

Any one who desires minute details of his reforming career can study it either in the flattering narrative of his own physician, or in his own fervid, glowing, and eloquent letters, with the aid of textual and critical commentaries and in none in more moderate compass than in the pages of Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament*, which gives the latest results of the biblical scholarship of the age. Of course no one is bound to swear by any master in the nineteenth century.

Hitherto we have come in contact with the merest notes and memoranda relating to the "Gospel" preached by Paul, the Roman reformer, in the Acts of the Apostles. We shall next attend to his own expositions in historical succession, as far as can be ascertained from his own "Controversial" letters addressed to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans.

No more striking contrast between the old and new faith—Mosaism and Christianism—could be found than in the graphic description given in the second letter to the Corinthian Christians. First and foremost, the law of Moses was graven on stones; but the law of love is written, not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, on the fleshly tables of the heart of mankind. The

law of Moses was the ministration of condemnation and death; while his "Gospel" was the ministration of the new covenant, the ministration of the Spirit (πνεῦμα), the ministration of righteousness. The one was the ministration of the "letter" of the law, and "killed" the soul by Levitical ceremonies; while the other was the ministration of the "Spirit," and filled the soul with love, life, and glorious hopes. The one crushed the soul with legal slavery; but the other placed the soul under the spirit of divine love and liberty. The whole religion of Moses was "veiled" beneath the "symbols" and "shadows" of the Temple, priesthood, sacrifices, and Sabbaths; but "we all with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, by the Spirit of the Lord."

There you have the thorough-going character of the religious revolution carried out by Paul, the Roman reformer. The holy Temple, the tables of the law, priesthood, sacrifices, and Sabbaths vanish in presence of the living temple of the Christian brotherhood, with the law of love written in their hearts by the Spirit of God. The yoke which neither their fathers nor they could bear was thrown off once for all from the shoulders of the Corinthian Christians.

Just one year later, the Galatian Christians were favoured with a more lengthened description of the religious yoke which galled the people, and "the simplicity of the Gospel," or welcome message, which placed the Greek and Jew—circumcised and uncircumcised—Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, on the same footing of Christian fraternity, equality, and liberty. "O foolish Galatians, who has bewitched you?" is the fervent language of the ardent reformer. "Are you so foolish, having

begun in the Spirit (πνεῦμα), are you now made perfect in the flesh (σὰρξ)?" No man is made a "just" or righteous man (δίκαιος) by the mere performance of legal and sacrificial ceremonies. Our father, Abraham, believed in God 430 years before the proclamation of the law of Moses, and it was imputed to him for righteousness. Our whole nation was placed under tutors or governors until the time appointed by the Father. The law of Moses was a mere "schoolmaster" to bring us to our Anointed Teacher, who preached righteousness by simple faith. To use an allegory, the Temple and Jerusalem, trembling in slavery to the law of Sinai, may be likened to "Hagar and Ishmael, the bondmaid and her illegitimate son, to be rejected, with all the works of the flesh;" while the heavenly Jerusalem is freed from the thunders of Sinai and the terrors of the law of Moses, like Sarah and Isaac, the mother of us all. "But as then, he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the spirit, even so is it now." "All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Gal. v. 14).

Liberty or slavery in the old and new faith,—that was the choice placed in the power of the Galatians, as well as of the Corinthian Christians. And the very same course was pursued by Martin Luther, with the aid of this favourite letter, during the progress of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century; for he proved that the Christian like the Jewish Church had been plunged into "Babylonish captivity" during the "dark ages" of mediæval scholasticism, hurled the papacy, sacerdotal hierarchy, and sacred calendar of Romish saints, who supplanted the gods and goddesses of *Roma Antiqua*, from the throne of Christendom; and laid the foundation,

at least, of the Protestant fraternity, equality, and liberty which is revolutionising the thrones and temples of Europe, and reconstructing modern society on the basis of civil citizenship and international brotherhood.

During the same season, after twenty years of reforming lectures and religious discussion, the "Gospel" according to Paul was unfolded in all its systematic length and breadth, in the letter addressed to the Christians of Rome, the capital of the Roman Empire. And the sole cause of all the misrepresentations of Roman Christianity sprang from neglecting the two currents of religious sentiment, peculiar to the Roman and Jewish Christians, which Paul filtered and fused in his own original and "welcome message" of spiritual union, and religious brotherhood of all mankind.

The problem laid before the mind of Paul, was surrounded with almost insurmountable difficulties. The native Jew suffered from the heel of Roman despotism on his neck, at home in Jerusalem and Judæa; and the whole land was surging with social insurrection headed by "kings," "robbers," and brigands, who claimed to be anointed (χριστὸς) for the express purpose of restoring their national and religious independence. The story current in Rome, according to Tacitus, the philosophical historian and Paul's contemporary, was that one "Christus" had suffered crucifixion as the author of a "deadly superstition" (*superstitio exitiabilis*); but the latest news from the province of Judæa could scarcely deepen the contempt of the Roman for the well-known bigotry, credulity, and fanaticism of a people, who as they put it, "were hateful to the whole human race." The nearest approach to the feelings roused by hostility of race, language, and religion between the Romans and Jews of the days of Paul, could still be

found in our Indian dependency, after the Sepoy insurrection and the massacre of Cawnpore. Such, then, being the social and religious antipathies of the Roman, the Greek, and the Jew—enhanced, moreover, by the possession of sacred books on the part of the Jews, and on the side of the Roman by daily sacrifice in the sacred temples in the capital of the civilised world during the Augustan age—what policy did our Roman reformer adopt for the purpose of uniting such irreconcilable elements in his new religious brotherhood? To the Jew, first, the death or total abolition of the Levitical Law of Moses (Rom. vii. 6)—the restoration of simple faith in God according to Abraham, the "father of the faithful" and founder of the nation (chap. iv.), declared to be a "just man" and "friend of God" 430 years before the introduction of the Law of Moses on Sinai: "For he is not a Jew who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God,"—and second, to the Romans, who acknowledged no sacred books, the rejection of all religious worship of gods made in the image of mortal men, and return to the divine law of human nature written on their hearts, the monitions of conscience, and the moral government or autonomy (law to himself) which claims the performance of personal, domestic, and political rights and responsibilities (chap. ii.).

Such are the fundamental doctrines of the "Gospel" according to Paul the Roman reformer; and all the remaining portions of his systematic treatise are subordinate, accessory, and employed for the purpose of substantiating them, *e.g.* the national arrogance and bigotry of the Jews is subdued by a tremendous series of

charges, taken from the pages of their own poets and prophets (chap. iii.), and reduced to the same moral level, and standing before the tribunal of the common Lawgiver of mankind. At the same time the Roman satirists and moralists, Seneca and Juvenal, Horatius, Persius, and Epictetus, vied with Paul himself in their pessimistic descriptions of popular sensuality, and in their demands for the religious and moral reformation of the Roman people (chap. i.).

The substitution of the Roman for the Jewish nation as the future "kingdom of God" on earth, must be regarded as a new development, hinted at in one of the founder's parables (Matt. xxi. 43), and credited by his contemporary Josephus (Jos., *Wars*, B. v. c. 9). But the subject will occupy our attention under Paul's historical previsions.

We have thus presented the salient outlines of the "Gospel" or welcome message of religious reformation, according to Paul—the total abolition of the Levitical Law of Moses—temple, ritual, priesthood, sacrifices, and Sabbaths peculiar to the Jewish nation, as well as of the worship of gods and heroes by images made in the likeness of men, common to all the Latin, Greek, and Oriental races and religions of the Roman Empire. And no representation of the Latin or Greek Church, old or new Catholic, or of the thousand and one sects which have sprung from the bosom of the "mother of us all" in modern Christendom, would start any serious objection to our general characterisation of the reformation of the Roman Empire. But as each ecclesiastical particle or atom of the one only Catholic and Apostolic Church has seized on some distinctive dogma, idea, practice or custom peculiar to the component elements of the old Roman, Hellenic, Hebrew, and Oriental religion, we must now take up each subject

in detail, and point out the minute and comprehensive character of Paul's religious reconstruction, with the aid of the third series of letters, addressed to the Philippians, Colossians, and Ephesians, entitled "Spiritual Ideals," as well as the fourth series to Timothy and Titus of a more "governmental" nature.

The Old and New Temple.—The Household of God.—Assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) *or the Church* (*Kirche*).—Given, then, the demolition of the sacred temples, the demission of the priesthood, the abolition of animal sacrifices, and the cessation of the endless festivals peculiar to the Roman, Hellenic, Hebrew, and Oriental religions throughout the length and breadth of the Roman Empire, for they regarded them as "dead" institutions,—What is the actual nature of the religious society founded by Paul, the Roman reformer? Here we are met at once, with the ready-made working "constitutions," presented by the Papal, Patriarchal, Prelatic, Presbyterian, and Independent "Churches" of the present day, professedly taken from the Pauline pattern. But are these clashing religious organisations really built on the foundation laid by the Apostle of the Gentiles (nations)? That is the real question at issue; and we are driven back on our common authorities, the Acts of the Apostles, and his own letters. Not only so, but the nucleus of a Galilean Brotherhood already existed in the company of the twelve original disciples of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, with the addition of 70 missionaries sent round Judæa in his own lifetime, and the 3000 proselytes who joined the ranks of the Galileans, desirous at least of saving themselves from the divine judgments threatened on the judicial murderers of the martyred Prophet. At the same time it must be remembered that the members of the Galilean sect mingled with the

Pharisees and Sadducees in the observances of the synagogue as well as of the public sacrifices and services of the Temple of Jerusalem, and persisted after the destruction of the Temple for several centuries, under the name of Nazarenes or Ebionites (poor).

The only item of information to be gleaned from the Acts of the Apostles is, that "elders" (πρεσβύτεροι) were ordained in every church (chap. xiv.). But Paul's own letters supplement all the deficiencies of his beloved physician's history, with a special code of ecclesiastical regulations drawn up for the maintenance of religious order, and the government of the public assemblies, as well as the morals of the members of the Christian brotherhood.

The question has been put over and over again, Where did Paul, the Roman reformer, find the model of his religious brotherhood? The Jewish Synagogue—home and foreign—which sprang into existence under Ezra after the Babylonian captivity, with its miniature hierarchy, was familiar to Paul. "For Moses has for many generations been read and preached in the synagogue in every city every Sabbath-day" (Acts xv.). The constitution and conduct of the Roman "Senate" and popular meetings (*comitia* and *curiæ*) would be open to him in his missionary tours. And the destroyer of the despotic priesthood, who was nearly torn in pieces in the Jerusalem Sanhedrim, must have gloried in observing the freedom of speech and debate which characterised the assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) of the Greek Republics. One thing is evident, at least, from a comparative survey of the Roman, Hellenic, and Jewish assemblies, viz. the community of type and organisation in the formation of the Christian society, the appointment of "elders" for the administration of religious government, along with the possession of

the rights and responsibilities of public speaking and discussion, on the part of all the members of the Christian brotherhood.

Such rights and responsibilities were recognised in the Jewish synagogues of the day, as we know from the practice both of the Prophet and Paul himself (Acts xiii.); and Paul's own love of independence and critical interpretation of the sacred books by the "Spirit of God," as he believed, was not one whit behind the spirit of primitive Galileanism, which called no man Lord on earth, save God himself.

"Know you not that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwells in you?" says Paul to his Corinthian disciples (1 Cor. iii., Ephes. ii.), was the immediate consequence of renouncing all temples made with hands as God's "dwelling-place," and their faith in the "indwelling of the Holy Spirit of God" in the living temple of their own souls and bodies. "There is one body and one spirit, even as you are called in one hope of your calling; one Master (κύριος), one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all. But to every one of us is given favour according to the measure of the anointed gift" (Ephes. iv.).

Such being the simple religious constitution of the Christian brotherhood, each member of which was invested with the titles of the princes, priests, and prophets of ancient Judaism, their public assemblies, we find, were liable to become scenes of stormy discord and discussion. Accordingly the reformer classifies the divine favours or "spiritual gifts" (χάριτες πνευματικοί), and lays down special regulations for the maintenance of order in their social meetings.

The divine favours, gifts, or talents, specially mentioned

by Paul, conferred on the members of the Christian body for the purpose of mutual instruction, comfort, and edification, are the word of wisdom (*σοφία*), the word of knowledge (*γνῶσις*), faith, healing, powers (*δυνάμεις*), prophecy, the judgment of spirits, kinds of tongues, the interpretation of tongues. And the titles given to the possessors of these spiritual endowments are apostle or missionary, prophets, teachers, ministers of wonders, healings, helps, governments, and kinds of tongues, preachers of goodwill (*εὐαγγελισταὶ*), or evangelists, and shepherds of the people (1 Cor. xii., Ephes. iv.).

This classification was in all probability given offhand by the reformer on the spur of the moment; and alludes to a large number af special talents and titles possessed by the members of the Christian society, eligible for the discharge of their religious, social, domestic, and private duties. And as the election of the several officials of the rising Church was placed in the hands of the religious brotherhood, the special fitness of any member for an ecclesiastical appointment was settled at once by a show of hands, and followed by the laying on of hands, symbolising the reception of the Holy Spirit, and consecration to a prescribed class of duties. The only difficulty connected with these diversities of gifts arises from the mention of the kinds of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues, which has puzzled the critics, who confounded the phenomena with the miraculous gift of addressing the people in every language on the face of the earth. But what are the plain facts alluded to by the reformer in the long chapter of his first letter to the Corinthians? The whole subject of the unknown tongues is a mystery (*μυστήριον*) or secret known to God only. "He that speaketh in a tongue speaks not to men but to God, for no man under-

stands him; however, in the spirit he speaks 'mysteries.'" There are tongues of men and angels—voices of so many kinds in the world, and none of them is without significance—even things without life giving "sound"—pipes, harps, trumpets, sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. But if I do not know the meaning of the "voice," I shall be to him that speaks a "barbarian." Whatever the nature of the "mystery" was, the startling character of the religious phenomena was regarded as a Divine "sign" on the authority of Isaiah's prophecy. "With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto the people, and yet, for all that, they will not hear me," says Jahveh (Isa. xxviii.). Wherefore tongues are for a "sign," not to those who believe, but to those who believe not, is Paul's conclusion. "If, therefore, the whole Church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned or unbelievers, will they not say that you are mad? How is it, then, brethren, when you come together, every one of you has a psalm, has a doctrine, has a tongue, has a revelation, has an interpretation? Let all things be done decently and in order. If any man speak in a tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church, and let him speak to himself and to God. I thank my God I speak with tongues more than you all. Yet, in the church, I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my 'voice' I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue."

Such is the peculiar treatment which the claimants of divine inspiration—the men "filled with all the fulness of the Godhead bodily"—received from Paul, the Roman reformer. All the priests and poets of the Greeks and

Orientals were "full of the God," according to their own statements. The priestess of Delphi, the seat of divine light and wisdom (Apollo), and centre of the Hellenic religion, appealed to, under calamities, by the Romans themselves, sat on the rift of a rock, inhaled divine inspiration from the gaseous exhalations of the under world, and danced out "oracles" in frenzied excitement to the prayers and petitions of the devoted worshippers of the day.

Can any reflective student, then, wonder that the new converts in the Corinthian seaport—the Liverpool or London of Greece—should have formed a motley company drawn from all the races and religions of the day—one puffed up with the possession of Oriental "knowledge," another with the "wisdom" of Pallas Minerva, worshipped in the Parthenon of Athens; one with the "great power of God" (like Simon or Elymas the sorcerer) to quell all devils and exorcise demons, and another with "the light that lightens every man that comes into the world:" or that Paul himself should have been nonplussed with the prophets, priests, and kings to God; with one having a psalm, another a doctrine; one a tongue, and another a "revelation" and interpretation?

All wonder vanishes on comparing these religious phenomena with the outrageous excesses and indecencies of Münzer and the Zwickau prophets—the kingdom of God without clothes—exhibited during the course of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany, as well as elsewhere in Europe; and quite recently in the pretentious claims of the prophets, prophetesses, and "angels" of the Irvingite Church. And when the religious fervour and excitement passed off and evaporated, the Pauline prescriptions would receive due attention (1 Cor. xiv.).

Still further additions were made to Paul's ecclesiastical code in his letter to Timothy, his "own son in the faith," transmitted from his Roman prison; and although some critics have questioned their genuineness, the rapid progress of the Church during thirty years in all probability rendered the founder's authority necessary for the preservation of religious order and uniformity.

The religious and moral qualifications of the ruling elders (πρεσβύτερος), overseers (ἐπίσκοπος) or presidents (ἐπιστάτης), equivalent terms for members of Presbytery (πρεσβυτέριον), and deacons and their wives, are specified with minute precision (1 Tim. iii.). Additional counsels are poured out of the full heart of the aged Reformer in his second letter (chap. ii.).

The very character of the "widows" appointed to minister to the requirements of the female population were not forgotten. They must not be taken into the number under sixty—having been the wife of one man, well reputed for good works, brought up children, lodged strangers, washed saints' feet, relieved the afflicted, diligently followed every good work. Younger widows must be refused; they wax wanton and marry, learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also, and busybodies; speaking things which they ought not. Let them marry, then, and bear children, guide the house, give no occasion to our enemies to speak reproachfully. And partial repetitions are also found in his letter to Titus, who had been deputed to settle the affairs of the Church in Crete (chap. i.).

Salaries too, were provided for the new class of religious teachers, according to Pauline legislation (1 Cor. ix.); for although he followed the practice of the age, and occasionally gained his livelihood by tent-making, like his

friends Priscilla and Aquila, and sometimes accepted the voluntary subscriptions of his friends, he prescribed the regular payment of Christian instructors. Not only so: "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in word and doctrine. For the Scripture says, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn: and, The labourer is worthy of his reward" (1 Tim. v.)—says the generous reformer. But as the same word signifies both honour and remuneration—an office, and its reward—some commentators have restricted the generous order to honorary rewards merely. The scriptural quotation, however, plainly refers to pecuniary remuneration.

Such religious codes, of course, are only social and moral ideals, laid down for the theoretical guidance of the Christian brotherhood; for the selection of religious rulers and teachers was always limited by the number and character of the surrounding population.

Any attempt even to catalogue the prodigious system of "Canon Law" which sprang up under mediæval Christianity, and the ecclesiastical acts of councils, convocations, assemblies, conferences, and synods which have overgrown the original Pauline code, is out of the question. They, too, have again become a yoke which neither the Christian fathers nor their Protestant children of the mother Church of Christendom are able to bear.

"Prophets" are specially mentioned in Paul's classification of Christian teachers; but the mere title was not necessarily restricted to the function of future prediction; and in fact included the performance of all the duties of public instruction, common to the members of the "royal priesthood" and religious brotherhood. Accordingly, all the preceding regulations were applicable to the

prophets, as well as to the official rulers and teachers of the Christian body. Whether Paul himself attached great credit to the claims of the prophets strictly so called could not perhaps be easily proved. We have already shown that he believed in the divine mission and exaltation, of the martyred Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee; but the whole course of Paul's reformation is pervaded by a rapid succession of discussions, scriptural interpretations, and application to immediate emergencies. The prediction of a death which took place in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, by Agabus of Antioch, is mentioned by Luke (Acts xi.). A splendid story is made out of the same prophet binding Paul with his own girdle, and saying, "Thus says the Holy Spirit, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owns this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles." "Then Paul answered, What mean you to weep and to break my heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Anointed (Χριστὸς) Jesus" (Acts xxi.). But no extraordinary sagacity was required to foretell such an occurrence in the midst of Jewish persecution.

The four virgin daughters, too, of Philip the Evangelist "did prophesy;" but no particulars are given of the pure and tender utterances of these female prophets.

The spasmodic missions of the Hebrew prophets culminate in the Apocalyptic visions of John, the gigantic seer, who hurled the mother of the fornications and abominations of the earth, drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jèsus, during the Neronian persecution, into a lake of fire, and buried her beneath the fire and brimstone of Sodom and Gomorrah, the ten plagues of Egypt, and the ruined heaps of Babylon the great for ever and ever. Century after century passed

and the Church stood aghast at the revolting character of Christian vengeance from the mouth of the beloved disciple, who listened on the Mount of Blessings to the Gospel of peace and good-will: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you and persecute you."

Time rolled on its ceaseless course, however; the very image of "Victory," in whose presence the masters of the world dealt out sovereign justice to subject provinces, was removed from its pedestal in the Senate of the capital of the world; the gods of *Roma Antiqua* were displaced by the new God of Constantine the Great in *Roma Nova*, on the shores of the Bosphorus (A.D. 330); the edict of Theodosius the Great was issued for the total abolition of the sacred temples of the Roman Empire (A.D. 381); and the flaming vengeance of the Book of Enoch wielded by the youthful reformer in his letters to the Thessalonians, as well as the lake of fire and bottomless pit of the sainted John, were read with pious tone and holy awe as the fulfilment of prophecy in the Church of Constantinople!

Thank heaven, the prophets of the Christian Church, full of the Holy Spirit, by the laying on of the hands of the bishops, spent all their gifts, graces, and glowing eloquence in fathoming the "mystery" of the new faith and sacred Scripture. The union of the bride—the Church—with the bridegroom, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, in heaven was a "mystery." The reception of the Gentiles (nations) was a "mystery," hid from ages and generations, but now made manifest to the saints. The ascension and apotheosis of the Son of God in the air was a "mystery." The beginning, middle, and end of the new kingdom of God on earth, and the substitution of

Rome for the kingdom of Israel, was "the Mystery of godliness," manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached to the nations, believed in the world, received up into glory, and furnished the perpetual theme for novel "interpretations," psalms and hymns, new revelations to the Christian elders—by and by to the bishops, patriarchs, priests, archbishops, cardinals, and popes of mediæval and modern Christendom.

Be he John, the cousin of Jesus, the fisherman of Galilee, the "son of thunder," who prayed his Master to call down fire from heaven on their Samaritan opponents, or John, the presbyter of Ephesus, he certainly was the last of the Hebrew and Christian prophets, who hurled the accumulated visions of his predecessors into the midst of the elders, overseers, and presidents of the Christian brotherhood, and provided them with the bottomless abyss of "mysteries!"—New Jerusalems and Millenniums, which have darkened the very sun and air of the firmament of Europe for eighteen centuries.

The next divine gift or favour conferred on the members of the Christian brotherhood was the "power" (*δύναμις*) of working "signs," wonders, and miracles (*miracula*), practised by all the diviners, sorcerers, conjurors, necromancers, and soothsayers of the Oriental, Hebrew, Hellenic, and Roman races and religions; and has been amply illustrated in the present day by writers on folk-lore, popular traditions, superstitions, and primitive culture. Here we can only refer to the fertile subject of vulgar errors and popular ignorance in the days of Paul, the Roman reformer. From beginning to end, the sacred books of the Jews were studded with stories of the most astounding nature; the very power of living according to the laws of common nature and human nature

appeared to be taken out of their hands by the poets, prophets, princes, and historians of that peculiar people. The wiles of the "Serpent," the subtlest beast in the field, are too wise for Adam and Eve in Paradise. Noah rides on the top of the Flood, with all the animals on the face of the earth, in a single ship, built in the course of one hundred and twenty years. Moses wields his rod, and all the plagues of heaven fall on Pharaoh and their Egyptian taskmasters. Jahveh's own chariot of fire and horses of fire are sent down to take Elijah the prophet to the palace of heaven. Oil flows into all the jars of the poor widow of Sarepta at the word of Elisha. The dial of Time is turned back fifteen years to gratify the wishes of King Hezekiah, with the greatest facility, by Isaiah. The very dead rose from the coffins at the word of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, as one did when the body of Elisha the prophet touched him at his burial. Diseases flew off with the flight of Peter's shadow, and the handkerchief of Paul. And one of the most popular customs of the age, practised by Jew and Gentile in the Orient and Occident, by the founder as well as by the disciples of Galileanism and Christianism, was Exorcism (ἐξ-ὅρκος = by an oath), the "power" of expelling devils or demons from demoniacs, or those "possessed" of evil spirits, in the name of God, Solomon, Jesus, etc. When the Pharisees heard of Jesus practising exorcism, they said, "This fellow casts out demons by Beelzebub, the Prince of Demons;" and his rejoinder was, "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your children cast them out?" Peter is specially honoured with the conversion of the Samaritan sorcerer, the father of all "Simony;" while Paul struck Elymas, the sorcerer of Paphos, with blindness—at least for a season—with a tremendous denuncia-

tion, and also drove the demon of divination out of a female sorcerer.

The story is told of some vagabond Jews and exorcists summoning a demon in the name of Jesus; but the demon resenting their presumption, cried out: "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you?" leaped on them, tore off their clothes, and drove them into the street! The spittle of Vespasian the emperor proved as successful in dispelling blindness as that of Jesus himself. And lameness, too, was cured by his imperial virtue, according to Josephus, just as thousands were touched by British sovereigns in a Christian country for the "King's Evil."

Such cases are explicable, of course, according to the ordinary motives which impel men and women who have lost their faith in their waning profession. And as all the mysterious diseases of the human constitution were ascribed to the possession of demons, and the influence of evil spirits, we cannot be surprised if many a cure of nervous disorder—such as Mary tormented with seven devils—was effected by the genuine emotion, earnestness, and pathos of the first Reformer. One impotent man, and one only, we read of being cured out of all the suffering patients who thronged the pool of Bethesda (an intermittent spring) and waited for the movement of the water at an angel's hand. The very profession of possessing divine "power," however, must have imposed upon the credulity of the people: and the tombs of the saints and martyrs became the scenes of the most extraordinary "miracles."

The twenty-second chapter of Augustine's famous work on the *Government of God* is crowded with them in the year A.D. 400, and several resurrections amongst them! The pages of the first historians of the Christian Church

—Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius —are loaded with them. Our very first English ecclesiastical historian—the Venerable Bæda—boasts of miracles, visits, and visions of angels, and resurrections A.D. 800! But if any student wishes to be persuaded of the survival and persistency of the "power" to work "signs" and "wonders," take down the Bollandist Collection, running from January to October, embellished with the glowing legends of visions—angels and demons, belonging to the Romish Calendar of Saints, canonised by the successor of Peter the fisherman of Galilee—and "wonder" at the puerile credulity of mediæval Christians during the "ages of faith." We are not quite sure whether the office of exorcist has been erased from the statute-book of the Anglican Church; but we are certain that their priests repeat by rote the traditional "Descent to Hell" in the Prayer-Book, borrowed from the *Æneid* of Virgil and the *Odyssey* of Homer, which still requires "exorcism" from the body of the Church.

The "power of healing" is also included in Paul's classification; but we have no reason to suppose that Luke, Paul's own physician, would have been deemed a qualified medical practitioner or attendant on the sick, without the ordinary course of study and professional experience. Accordingly, the "prayer of faith," referred to by James, must be regarded as an accompaniment of the oil, or other medical remedies prescribed for the benefit of sick patients (James v.).

All the members, of course, were called on to test the spirits or gifts, and form their own independent "judgment," in their public assemblies as well as in private life.

The only remaining divine gift refers to the critical

power or talent of "interpretation" (ἑρμηνεία), or "revelation" (ἀποκάλυψις = unveiling) of the sacred Scriptures read and expounded in the synagogues and religious assemblies. And all the passages cited and adapted, in the lives and letters of the reformers, may be referred to as specimens of Christian interpretation or hermeneutics. The subject is very comprehensive, and has been illustrated by a comparison of the literal and "adapted" quotations from the Hebrew and Greek (Septuagint) Scriptures. And assuredly all the reformers rejected a literal adherence to the letter of the rigid "justice" of Judaism, extracted the "spirit" of the Law of Moses, and preached "peace and good-will to all mankind." But when religious dissensions arose between the Jewish and Roman Christians, and the members of the rising Church clung to the doctrine of primitive Galileanism, Peter, Paul, and Apollos of Alexandria (1 Cor. i.), new "interpretations" and "revelations" must have been called for, at every point in their religious development.

One Council of the mother Church at Jerusalem, it is true, had already sent out a body of "decrees" which relieved all foreign Christians from the Levitical Law of Moses; but endless questions, affecting personal, domestic, and social life, turned up for solution. And every "dream" or "vision" of the night was apt to be seized and exalted into a new "revelation," by men who were taught to believe that "dreams were from the gods." And the interpretation of dreams and visions was practised by all the prophets of the age, as well as of their sacred books. Paul himself, who claimed his apostolical authority from a "heavenly vision" of the risen Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee in the air, and was taunted with preaching a new "gospel," was tempted to boast, not only of his scourgings,

stonings, and shipwrecks in the service of the Church, but also of "visions and revelations"—"unspeakable words," which it was not possible for men to utter—heard in the third heaven of paradise (2 Cor. xii.), a description borrowed from the visionary Book of Enoch. But we must be lenient in our judgment of the Roman reformer, to whom the world is so deeply indebted, who suffered from a "thorn in the flesh"—in all probability neuralgia, or cerebral inflammation, to which he would be liable in consequence of his stoning to death at Iconium. At this point the question arises, What system of "interpretation" of the sacred books of the Jews was adopted by Paul, the Roman reformer, during the course of his religious career? And the complete reply would, of course, involve an examination of all the passages quoted in his successive letters, as well as in the Acts of the Apostles. But as our next subject is the renunciation of the Levitical Law of Moses, and the establishment of the law of love by Paul, our attention will be called to the method of "interpretation," followed by all the reformers of ancient Judaism in their lives and letters.

The Levitical Law of Moses versus *the Christian Law of Love.*—Given now the Christian brotherhood, and royal priesthood, endowed with the divine gifts of religious and spiritual knowledge, wisdom, power, judgment, prophecy, government, interpretation, or revelation,—Were the Jews and Gentiles, citizens of all nations, relieved entirely from the yoke of the sacred books—sacrifices and Sabbaths prescribed by the Levitical Law of Moses, as well as by the laws of the Roman, Hellenic, and Oriental religions—according to Paul's gospel? Various contradictory replies have been given to this question from the standpoint of the Papal, Prelatical, Presbyterian,

and Independent Churches in the present day; but the careful examination of the thorough-going nature of Paul's reformation leaves no room for doubt on the subject.

An authoritative decision was given on this very subject by the first Christian Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.); the only exception made was the prohibition of eating blood, meat offered before images, and fornication, which most probably meant the condemnation of the worship and sensual practices in the Temple of Venus.

His controversial letters (already noticed), addressed to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans, contain a minute and ample exposition of the abolition of the Levitical Law of Moses, and appeal to the law of human nature, written on the fleshy tables of the hearts of mankind by the Spirit of God. Accordingly, we shall take up each subject successively, and commence with Paul's method of the "interpretation" of the sacred books of the Jews.

Sacred Books of the Jews.—"The Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets," was the common division of the sacred books of the Jews, in the lives and letters of the reformers of ancient Judaism; and various degrees of authority were ascribed to them both by Jews and Christians. The Law of Moses (especially "the ten words"), written on two tables of stone by the finger of God, stood first in pre-eminence, and unapproachable in reverence in the minds of all the people. The Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Daniel, however, were ranked only as "holy writings" (*Hagiographa*); and the remaining greater and lesser prophets concluded the catalogue of the surviving sacred literature of the nation; for many works referred to by these successive authors

had perished during their foreign and domestic wars and Babylonian captivity.

Not only so; but these divisions were multiplied in the Temple, synagogues, and schools of the Samaritans, Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenians; for the Samaritans, who broke off at the death of Solomon (B.C. 976), and started the kingdom of Israel, possessed only the Pentateuch ascribed to Moses,—the only Jewish "remnant," who keep the Passover to this day, at Nablous in Palestine. The Sadducees also protested against any later additions to the Law of Moses, and clung to the Pentateuch alone, till the destruction of the Temple; but the peculiar books treasured by the Essenians, which contained their "secret doctrines," only revealed to the members who had undergone two years of initiation into the mysteries of the sect, are buried in oblivion.

So also have been the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, the prodigious commentaries of the rabbis, which had accumulated during the course of their national existence; and their appearance in an English dress will demonstrate the correctness of the Prophet's assertion, that the elders made the commandment of God of no effect by their traditions.

These were the sacred writings, sects, and schools of theological interpretation peculiar to the Jewish people at the commencement of the reformation.

Any one acquainted with the Reformation in the sixteenth century must have noticed that Martin Luther and his fellow-labourers in possession of the sacred books of the Christians adopted the very same tactics as the reformers of ancient Judaism. Did he not tear the veil from the Roman popish priesthood, sunk in "Babylonish captivity," during the dark ages of mediæval barbarism, and carry

back his disciples to the feet of Jesus, and the primitive brotherhood of Christian disciples revealed in the New Testament? So also did Jesus, Paul, and their reforming contemporaries at the Augustan age of the Roman Empire. What standpoint did they really occupy in their national development? Just about one generation, thirty years or thereabouts, from the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), most probably nearly 1900 years from its foundation by Abraham, the "father of the faithful." (See *Chart.*) The merest notes of their reforming lectures and discourses have been transmitted to us, but the historical allusions are unmistakable. "Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree; and do not begin to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father, for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham," —is the prelude of John the Baptist. Mysterious hints of a conversation held by Peter, James, and John with Jesus on Mount Tabor are inserted in the narrative; but the mention of the names of Moses and Elijah, their famous reformers, leave no doubt of its significance. And the Pharisees themselves saw through the veil of the parable of the great householder and the vineyard (Matt. xxi.). "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." But the "kingdom of God," or Christian Church founded by Paul the Roman reformer with the members and citizens drawn from the Gentiles or nations on the face of all the earth—the mystery hid for ages and generations, and now made manifest in the flesh, in fulfilment of the prophets—was at first a stumbling-block (*σκάνδαλον*) to the Jews, but finally a crowning success in the Roman Empire.

Let us now observe the method of the "interpretation"

of the sacred books adopted by the reformers of ancient Judaism; and for this purpose we have arranged them as nearly as possible according to their chronological order.

1. During the tribal period from Abraham to the Exodus (430 years)—Genesis. 2. From the Exodus to the Monarchy (450 years)—Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Ruth. 3. During the Monarchical period (B.C. 1100 to 588)—Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, Jonah, Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Obadiah. 4. Also during the Babylonian Captivity, Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah, as well as after the Babylonian Captivity, Ezra (B.C. 537), Nehemiah, Esther, Zechariah, Haggai, Malachi (B.C. 440), and Daniel (B.C. 126).

The Patriarchal Period.—What are the contents of Genesis? (the Beginning). Literally, the cosmogony and Mosaic account of the creation of the world—mankind, plants, and animals; the temptation, fall, and expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden; the murder of Abel by his brother Cain; the genealogy and generation of the Cainites and Sethites; the birth of giants by intermarriage of the "sons of the gods" with the "daughters of men;" the deluge; the salvation of Noah and his family in a single vessel, with all the animals on the face of the earth; the birth, calling, and adventures of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the settlement of the twelve patriarchs, the children of Jacob, in Egypt—was generally read and received as an historical narrative, from the period of the Reformation until the present century. We say, generally, for mystics of all ages revelled in the allegorical interpretation of "Genesis," as well as the entire Old and New Testament. But the profound critics of the nineteenth century have detected the double accounts of the creation and deluge

peculiar to the "Elohistic" and "Jahvistic" annalists; the earlier and later archæology and antiquities of the ancient Hebrews; traced the Mosaic account of the creation, the tree, and serpent, as well as the Sabbath of the seventh day, to Babylon, with the assistance of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions," and the sacred books of the East.

The annalists themselves state that Abraham, the "Father of the Faithful," emigrated from "Ur of the Chaldees," modern Mugheir. And what is the net result of their critical and historical discoveries? Nothing more or less than the re-arrangement of the old patch-work of Hebrew archæology on an historic basis; the Babylonian origin of the Mosaic cosmogony, edited first by an Elohite, and secondly by a Jahvite chronicler; for Jahveh (Being) was not employed until the age of Moses (Exod. vi.). And this correction is quite consistent with the continuity of the social development of races and religions during the course of the "education of humanity." One point is evident to the historical critic, viz., that the first God of the ancient Hebrews who protested against Babylonian Polytheism (Elohim) was El; for Bab-el (the gate of God) was the name of the temple and town dedicated to the sun, moon, and seven planets. And Beth-el (house of God) was the name given to the anointed stone set up by Jacob on the spot consecrated by a dream of angels ascending and descending from heaven. The flat and solid earth was surmounted with a canopy hung with lamps, like one of their own tents, founded on pillars that could not be moved. The windows of heaven could be opened to shower down floods to cover the tops of the mountains; the rainbow only started into existence at the deluge, as a "sign" and promise of the King of heaven never to repeat it; and the god-like

Enoch was carried up to the celestial court without seeing death. But no scientific student in the present day would attempt to reconcile the speculative theories of the universe and the origin of evil, peculiar to the "primitive culture" of the ancient Hebrews, with the discoveries of modern astronomy, geology, and physical science.

Are the arguments then of Paul, the Roman reformer, it may be asked, based on fallacious grounds? So far as sheer ignorance of modern astronomy, geology, and physical science are concerned, certainly. Death itself did not enter into the world by the sin of Adam, the first-born "son of God." But the temptation and dominion of the flesh and spirit,—the higher and lower soul,—Cainite passions and propensities of the human constitution, were placed under the same law of nature (*νόμος φύσεως*) from the creation of Adam and Eve to the birth of Abraham, the father of the faithful. Accordingly his reasoning holds good for all the practical purposes of human life and instruction. Most assuredly it served the purpose of Pauline reformation. Simple faith in the King of heaven, and the moral government of the world, was sufficient for the salvation of society. That was the powerful lever which Paul placed under the Temple of Solomon, with the "Law of Moses, the Psalms, and the prophets" within the holy place, and hurled into ruins. Four hundred and thirty years before the law of Moses was issued on Sinai, Abraham was a "just man," and the "friend of God."

The Tribal Period, from the Exodus to the Foundation of the Monarchy.—Does any critic in the present day ever dream of reading the Mosaic account of the ten plagues as a literal narrative of historical occurrences; that the magicians' rods were turned into living serpents; that fish stank in the ferruginous waters of the Nile; and frogs

covered the land of Egypt at the sweep of their conjuror's wands? Certainly not. And the poetical imagery employed by the Oriental historian (as well as by the poets, Psalm lxxviii.) defies all attempts to elicit the actual nature of the military expedition of the ancient Hebrews, which took possession of ancient Palestine; laid the foundation of their national existence under their earliest legislator and general, Moses and Joshua; and continued under "Judges" (*suffètes*) until the age of Saul and David. All historians meet with the same "poetical characteristics" in the tribal periods of the Hellenic, Roman, European, and British people. Who could thread their way through the misty regions of the Hellenic migrations from the east under Cadmus, Cecrops, and Danaus? strip the poetic drapery from the tales of Romulus and Numa, on their way to heaven with the gods of their own land? Nay, have we not been nonplussed ourselves with Hengist and Horsa, our Saxon forefathers, and pruned off the long pedigree from Egypt and Rome, given by our chroniclers, William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth? Away, then, with the literary timidity which shrinks from the same tests of credibility in Hebrew archæology and antiquities. Compare the Hebrew chronicles with the annals of any other people, and the same social characteristics are found—perpetual feuds, hostilities, and barbarous cruelties and atrocities, under Joshua and the Judges, as well as in Greece, Rome, Europe, and Britain. If the daughter of Jephthah, the Gileadite—a tribal chieftain beyond Jordan—is devoted as a sacrifice to bloodthirsty gods in Judæa, Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, the general of the Greek tribes, bleeds on the altar at the demand of Calchas, the soothsayer of the expedition. The wholesale slaughter of

all the towns and villages of the Canaanites is well matched with the Doomsday Book of William the Conqueror in Christian England. The very song of Deborah, the warlike prophetess of the tribe, stands side by side with the Saxon "Beowulf" and the monster Grendel. And the labours and adventures of Samson in Palestine, Hercules in Greece, Charlemagne and his knights, Arthur and the Round Table in England and Wales, and Wallace in Scotland, are the exploits of barbarous heroes who received clouds of incense from their popular worshippers. Can any admirer of the reformer of ancient Judaism be surprised that the stormy period of their national life was shunned in their quotations, and that Peter alone found an appropriate sentiment in Exodus (xix. 6), said to have been uttered in the third month after the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage? And why appropriate? Just because Moses, Jesus, and Peter were engaged in emancipating the people from religious, moral, and social slavery.

The Monarchical Period, from Saul and David to the conquest, as well as during and after the Babylonian captivity.—Where then did the reformers of ancient Judaism obtain the divine sanction and authority for their revolutionary doctrines? Chiefly from the poets (ψαλμὸς= song) and prophets, *i.e.* the seers, censors, satirists, and moralists who produced the ripest and richest fruit of Hebrew literature and culture; *e.g.* forty-seven passages are cited from the collection of Hebrew poetry, thirty-eight from the work of the "Isaiah the Second," and five only from Jeremiah, in the lives and letters of the reformers. Partial reference has already been made to this subject in tracing the utterance of their patriotic longings for national independence. Not a single pre-

diction of such a national deliverer exists in the Davidic poems, simply because neither the disruption of the kingdom at the death of Solomon, nor the Babylonian conquest, had taken place. Profounder sentiments on religious subjects are strewn over the pages of the Hebrew prophets, but their exact dates cannot always be ascertained. The "right spirit" and the "new, broken and contrite heart" issued from the soul of a sorrowing poet of the Babylonian exile, as the last stanza shows (Psalm li.). The new portions of the "second law" (δεύτερος-νόμος=Deuteronomy), belonging to the age of Josiah (B.C. 600), throw light on the prophets' desire to quash their political and religious dissensions (Deut. xviii. 15). The germs of a purer faith—love to God and circumcision of the heart, make their appearance in the bosom of the second law (Deut. vi. 10). And the very words of the Second Isaiah, the nameless seer of the captivity, were appropriated and adopted by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee as the text of his first discourse to his own townspeople, with the remark, "To-day this Scripture has been fulfilled in your ears."

No notice is taken of the sceptical and satirical work of Ecclesiastes (The Preacher), and one can easily understand why the honest and illiterate fishermen of Galilee eschewed the voluptuous imagery and literary "nudities" of the "Song of Solomon."

Let us now examine a few specimens of the reformers' manner of quotation and application of their own poets and prophets.

The whole collection of Hebrew poetry falls into five divisions, ending with a Doxology—No. I. Pss. 1-41; II. Pss. 42-72; III. Pss. 73-89; IV. Pss. 92-106; V. Pss. 107-150. And each division is marked with distinctive

characteristics. Jahveh, *e.g.*, predominates in the first, and "Elohim" in the second. The Songs of Degrees, supposed to have been chanted by pilgrims on the road to the Temple of Jerusalem, are found in the fifth. Some are assigned to Moses. Some are composed after the Babylonian captivity, and seventy-three are ascribed to the pen of King David, "the sweet singer of Israel." Here we refer only to those composed on the "King of the Jews," and applied to the anointed Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, as the expected "King of the Jews." Three times the Second Poem, composed on the occasion of a royal accession (for "the powers that be are ordained of God"), is quoted by the disciples after the martyrdom of the Prophet (Acts iv. 25); by Paul, in a speech at Antioch (Acts xiii. 33); and by Apollos, in his letter to the Hebrews (i. 5).

The disciples, who were threatened by the priestly government of Jerusalem, charged them with persecution of the Lord's Anointed Prophet, in the words of the Hebrew poet. That is all. But we know that the powers who head social order and progress of the world come into constant collision, and carry forward "the struggle of existence" by "natural selection," and the "survival of the strongest" principles of civil and religious government. The passage appears in the speech of Paul to support his contention that Jesus fulfilled his mission according to divine approbation; whereas it was cited by Apollos to prove his superiority to angels.

The lofty style of a Hebrew laureate who penned an epithalamium, or bridal song on a royal marriage, was seized by Apollos, and applied in his allegorical fashion for the purpose of eclipsing the mission of Moses, their ancient legislator. "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and

ever: a sceptre of justice is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. Kings' daughters are among thy honourable women: upon thy right hand did stand the queen in gold of Ophir" (Ps. xlv.). But the throne of Jesus, according to the late disciple of John the Baptist, was only the seat (θρόνος) of the second Joshua, who led them into the Christian "kingdom of God" (Heb. iv. 8); the assembly of "just men" made perfect through suffering, like the "Captain of their deliverance." Again, we are told in one of Matthew's anecdotes that the Prophet puzzled the Pharisees with the passage, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. If David then call him Lord, how is he his son? And no man was able to answer him a word; neither durst any man, from that day forth, ask him any more questions." Now, did King David really call his future successor and descendant "Lord" in this passage? Assuredly not. But Jesus evidently foiled his opponents with their own weapons, *i.e.* the current interpretation put on the passage by the Scribes and Pharisees of the day. The language really put into the mouth of Jahveh by the Hebrew poet was: "Jahveh said unto my Lord (the king), Sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool."

As we have already adduced the special testimonies of the Prophets regarding the national patriot desired for the purpose of restoring their national independence, we shall only refer to a few quotations from their writings in this place. The most appropriate passage for the purpose of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, was selected by himself as the public manifesto of his divine mission,

published in the synagogue of his own native town (Second Isa. lxi.). And the reception which the living claimant of the prophetic mission, and fellowship with his famous predecessors, Elijah and Elisha, met with—the threat to hurl him from the rock—fulfilled the old saying that a "prophet is not without honour except in his own country." Can any student of human nature be surprised that the lives of his own peers, the Hebrew prophets, and specially "the nameless Prophet," in the school of suffering and furnace of affliction in Babylon, proved a perpetual source of instruction and consolation to the Galilean reformer? "I say unto you, that this that is written must yet be accomplished in me, and he was reckoned with the transgressors," is his own method of application (Luke xxii. 37).

"Do you understand what you are reading?" was the question put by Philip, one of the first deacons and evangelists, to an Ethiopian eunuch and proselyte, who was reading the 53d chapter of Isaiah (the Second); and the eunuch replied: "I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet thus? of himself, or of some other man?" Philip claimed it for a prediction regarding Jesus, whom he recognised as God's Anointed; and when the eunuch assented, he was immediately baptized, and received into connection with the "sect of Galileans" or Jewish Christians.

The only other passage, indeed, which could be quoted from the lives and letters of the reformers of ancient Judaism implying the imposition of the sacred books of the Jews on the members of the Christian brotherhood, endowed with divine gifts and graces, and the law of nature written on their hearts by the Spirit of God, is taken from Paul's second letter to Timothy, his beloved son in the faith: "From a child thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation,

according to the faith of the anointed Jesus" (2 Tim. iii.). But the saving clause here inserted for the guidance of the Christian Church is, that all the doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness must be received in accordance with the new faith founded by Jesus the Anointed (Χριστὸς) of God. We have deemed it necessary to refer to the Christian method of "interpretation"—the use which the reformers of ancient Judaism made of the sacred books of their own country, during the course of their religious reformation.

But the Moral Law, or the "interpretation" and "revelation" of the "law of nature," was the only volume which Paul appealed to in his discussions with his Roman disciples. And the critical investigation will form an appropriate prelude to the second part of our chapter on the Levitical Law of Moses *versus* the Christian Law of Love.

If the complete Temple ritual, priesthood, bloody and bloodless sacrifices of Moses and Solomon were abolished by the reformers of ancient Judaism, the question now arises, What religious elements and institutions survived their destructive revolution?—(1) The religious brotherhood, founded, as we have seen, on the national synagogue, Roman Senate, Comitia, and Greek assemblies established in the large cities of the Roman Empire; and (2) the moral law of "ten words"—the law of human nature, "written on the fleshly tables of the heart by the Spirit of God," summed up by Jesus and Paul, the Roman reformer, in one word: "Love is the fulfilment of the Law" (Rom. xiii. 10). It is this moral law, or law of human nature, the aim and end of which is social love and order, which has been wrested and misinterpreted by the legislators and system-builders of Papal and Protestant Chris-

tianism, which now requires exposition. Such, too, were the Levitical and rabbinical "heavy burdens" of nineteen hundred years, which crushed the souls of the Jews in legal and ceremonial slavery in the times of Jesus and Paul. And a cursory glance at them may pave the way for understanding "the simplicity of the gospel," which displaced them during the course of Paul's reformation of the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER III.

SUCCESSIVE PHASES OF JEWISH WORSHIP.

WHAT then formed the primitive mode of Hebrew worship, according to the testimony of their sacred books? 1. In the *Patriarchal Age*, nothing more or less than the sacrifice of an animal on a simple altar of rough or unhewn stone by the father of the family belonging to a nomad or pastoral tribe, under the open sky, in the presence of the King of heaven. The only sacred custom of primitive Hebraism was circumcision, common to them with the Egyptians. We are not concerned here with the "divine conception" ascribed by the Hebrew patriarchs to the Almighty God, who delighted in blood, burnt-offerings, and sweet-smelling frankincense, like all the gods (Elohim) of Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, and Phœnicia, belonging to the "Shemitic race."

2. In the *Tribal Age*, the same divine worship was continued in the land of Palestine, with more artistic altars of burnt-offering, incense, and table with twelve loaves representing the tribes of Israel, in the presence of

the holy ark containing "the ten words" of Moses; a pot of manna or angels' food; Aaron's rod that blossomed; by the Aaronic priesthood invested with sacred robes; the Urim and Thummim; twelve glittering stones on the high priest's bosom; and, if you believe it, the "Shekinah" (divine presence) and cherubim, where Moses held interviews with Jahveh, within a tent or tabernacle.

Egyptian ideas and influences are as visible in the sacred services of the Hebrews of the Tribal age, as Romish vestments, superstitions, and Gothic cathedrals in mediæval Christianism. The new God of Moses, "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," was Jahveh (Being: Life)—"he who was, is, and is to be, and no man has lifted his veil," taken from an inscription on the façade of the Temple of Heliopolis.

3. In the *Monarchic Age* the very same divine worship was invested with all the grandeur and magnificence of the Temple of Solomon; successive orders of the national priesthood; morning, evening, and occasional sacrifices; sacred songs and musical accompaniments; anniversary fasts and festivals; first and second Levitical codes; seven-branched lamp and sacred fire, etc., borrowed from their Persian and Phœnician contemporaries; and the successive restorations under Ezra, Nehemiah, and Herod perpetuate the worship of Jahveh, under the Persian, Macedonian, and Roman domination, and the alternate administration of Pharisees and Sadducees until the destruction of Jerusalem.

Now, face to face with the burning question of the age as Paul the reformer was—What was the origin and meaning of sacrifices and incense in the minds of the Hebrew patriarchs, princes, priests, poets, and prophets? Beyond all doubt, the first and foremost thought of every heart

was the desire of acceptance and favour in the sight of the King of heaven, and the natural expression of praise, gratitude, and thanksgiving in return for all the gifts of nature and human life conferred on the worshipper. Sin and thanksgiving offerings of every variety—bullocks, goats, sheep, turtle-doves, pigeons, grain, loaves, cakes, and wine—were minutely prescribed by the Levitical codes to suit all classes and occasions from birth to death. The mere contact with a dead body—a bone of it even—mouldy garments, tents, house, and furniture was leprosy; diseases of every kind in males and females incurred sin and uncleanness, and required offerings for "purification." And the sole end and aim of the entire sacrificial system was to obtain an authoritative declaration of peace and friendship with the King of heaven. Place your hands on the head of the bullock, goat, or sheep, confess your sins, and "the blood, which is the life," is sprinkled round the altar of the door of the tabernacle or in the Temple courts of Jerusalem by the officiating priest, and it is "accepted for him to make atonement (or reconciliation) for him with God." The Hebrew worshipper parts from the priest "the friend of God" by faith in the Law of Moses. That is the heart and soul of every Hebrew sacrifice offered in the Patriarchal, Tribal, and Monarchic age, and exemplified with all the solemnity, pomp, and circumstance of Oriental gravity on the anniversary of national atonement, when the high priest laid his hands on two goats in the name and stead of the whole people, and the blood of the one was sprinkled on "the ten words" in the Holy of Holies, while the other was sent off to the desert, the home of devils, with all their sins on its shoulders (Lev. xvi.).

No matter what the "divine conception" or character

was in the minds of the patriarchs, chieftains, or clansmen, the tribal warrior, or his warlike followers, the King of Israel, or the citizen of Jerusalem, in every successive age of "the peculiar people;" the Babylonian "El" who repented that he had made man, and destroyed the whole world with a flood; the Palestinian "Jahveh," "the man of war," who taught their fingers to fight, and gladly accepted the offering of Jephthah's daughter, who mourned her virginity for a month on the mountains of Jerusalem prior to her inhuman devotion; and the tutelar Deity of "the man after Jahveh's own heart," who laughs on his throne in the heavens, and holds all the heathen (nations) in derision (Pss. ii., lix.). Hence Abraham, the "Father of the Faithful," earned the title of the "Friend of God." Zacharias and Elisabeth, the parents of John the Baptist, were "in the eyes of the law blameless;" and Josephus, the latest historian of Judæa, records that David, the King of Jerusalem, was "without controversy a pure man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life, excepting those in the matter of Uriah."

The civil and religious, moral and social standard of sin and crime, in one word, was "legal," according to the first and second Levitical codes of the Law of Moses. And this was the very ground of the "thundering" protests hurled against the religious conventionalism of the Law of Moses—the Pharisaic life and conduct of the Jews—first, by the school of the prophets; secondly, by Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee; and lastly, by Paul, the Roman reformer.

Away with your Levitical and legal conventionalism, was the reactionary cry of the spiritual prophet Isaiah, a full century prior to the destruction of Jerusalem: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices to me?

Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination to me; the new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is a grief, even the solemn meeting (Isa. i.). Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." The very spirit of Isaiah took possession of the Galilean Prophet: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! you blind guides, who strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel. You make clean the outside of the cup and the dish, but within they are full of extortion and excess. You are like whited sepulchres, which appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. You build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous. Fill up the measure of your fathers. You serpents, you generation of vipers, how can you escape the damnation of hell?" (Matt. xxiii.). And the prophetic protests are taken up by Paul, the Roman reformer, and carried to their logical consummation in the systematic exposition of his own "Gospel," summed up in the conclusion: "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us to the Anointed, that we might be justified by faith; even as Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness."

The "just man" by faith in God, like Abraham, the "Father of the Faithful," who earned the title of the "Friend of God" 430 years before the publication of the Law of Moses on Sinai—that was the sum and substance of Paul's "Gospel" or welcome message; and letter after letter issued from his fertile genius, crowded with argument calculated to fortify his revolutionary doctrine.

"Now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we shall serve in the newness of the Spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter" (Rom. vii. 6).

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith the Anointed has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage. Behold, I Paul say to you that if you be circumcised the Anointed will profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. The Anointed is become of no effect to you, whoever of you are justified by the law. You are fallen from favour. For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For in the Anointed Jesus neither circumcision avails anything nor uncircumcision, but faith which works by love" (Gal. v.). "By favour are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast" (Eph. ii.). But the crowning gift which exalted the power of faith and hope into union and harmony with the divine will was love, the fulfilling of the law. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. Love suffers long, and is kind; love envies not; love does not vaunt itself, is not puffed up; does not behave itself unseemly, seeks not her own, is not easily provoked, thinks no evil; rejoices not in injustice, but rejoices in the truth. Bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. Love never fails. And now remains faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love" (1 Cor. xiii.). What now is the position of the disciple of the new faith delivered from the hereditary slavery of his legal tutors, governors, and schoolmasters, and invested with the titles of the Son and Friend of God? "There is therefore now no condemnation to those who are disciples of the Anointed Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit

(πνεῦμα). For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God" (Rom. viii.), and animated by the fruits of the Spirit (Gal. v.).

Of course his comprehensive reasoning applied to all the Roman, Hellenic, and Oriental Christians who possessed no sacred books, but were placed under the universal law of human nature, ruled by the sovereign and dominant power of pure and healthy (*heilig*) love. "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service" (Rom. xii.) is the final conclusion of the systematic exposition of Paul's "Gospel." Can any rational critic doubt that Paul, the Roman reformer, raised the religious and moral standard of the Christians to a higher level than the legal and Levitical codes of Moses current in Judæa?

The exaltation of the cross, and the crucifixion and martyrdom of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, into the sole and single sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, belongs to a later period of doctrinal development. The heart and soul of human nature—faith, hope, and love in divine and human perfection—rising in incense to heaven, and diffused through every sphere of domestic and social life, was the only pure, living, and daily sacrifices of the Roman Christianity, according to Paul's own mind.

Sabbaths, Fasts, and Festivals.—Was no exception whatever made in favour of the Sabbaths (rests), fasts, and festivals peculiar to the Hebrew, Hellenic, and Roman races, according to the Gospel of Paul, the Roman reformer? Not so much as one. All the sacred persons, places, and periods common to the motley assemblage of races and religions of the Roman Empire were swept away

by the universal and spiritual character of the Christian reformation.

Something nearly of the same nature took place at the Protestant Reformation, in the abolition of the sacred festivals held in honour of the saints, apostles, and "Mother of God" and "Queen of Heaven," still lingering in the Papal and Prelatical Churches of the day; while Christmas itself and New Year has been transformed into a scene of social festivity, dancing, and singing amongst Presbyterian and Independent Protestants. We say something of the same nature; for the Sabbaths (rests), fasts, and festivals of the Hebrew, Hellenic, and Roman races and religions bore both a national, civil, social, and religious character; and only ended with their national existence.

Six grand national festivals and six fasts were included in the Jewish anniversaries in the times of Jesus and Paul; but we cannot pretend to number the sacred and civil fasts and festivals dedicated to the greater and lesser gods and goddesses, Jupiter and Juno, Apollo and Diana, Minerva, Mars, Ceres, Venus, Bacchus, etc., of the Hellenic and Roman people.

The first Sabbath (rest) of the Jewish year corresponded with the spring festivals (April) of the Shemitic races of Western Asia; was associated with emancipation from Egyptian bondage and the declaration of national independence, and celebrated with the ordinary sacrifices, feasting, dancing, singing, music, and merriment of Oriental festivals held in the present day. "Independence Day" in the New World, storming along with a display of flags, music, political grandiloquence, and oratory, and closing with luxurious banquets, patriotic toasts, songs of national sentiment, and dancing, is the

nearest Western approach to it. And those enthusiastic patriots only, we fancy, could enter into the spirit of the Galilean Prophet, who would have rejoiced in the opportunity to plunge these Roman Pharaohs into a Red Sea of blood and slaughter. Songs of thanksgiving burst from the hearts of Moses, Miriam, and Aaron at the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea (Exod. xv.). The song of Moses and the Lamb triumphant in heaven sounded in the seer's vision at the very idea of the destruction of Rome at the crisis of the Neronian persecution. But the martyr's cross loaded with the prophet's bleeding form rose to heaven in the firmament of mediæval Europe, surrounded with clouds of Christian saints; while barbarous priests and monks mumbled their mummeries to empty stalls, and the people danced round their Maypoles, or baited bears and bulls in the circus.

All the joyous expressions of popular and patriotic feeling have been banished from the vernal and happy season by the Christian practice of dwelling on the harrowing spectacle of prophetic martyrdom, instead of rejoicing at their emancipation from the priestly yoke which neither Jews, Paul, nor their fathers could bear.

The second was Pentecost—so called from being held fifty days afterwards, in June—the harvest-home of the Jewish people, the season of national thanksgiving, and the scene of social and domestic reunions from all quarters of the habitable earth; for the Jews had been scattered over all the regions of the East and West by their civil wars and foreign conquests. It was on this national anniversary that Peter and the followers of the Galilean Prophet addressed the Jewish crowds in the temple of Jerusalem, and exhorted them to wash their hands of the

divine judgment which their priestly rulers involved the people, by the martyrdom of their Master.

Five days before the popular festival of sylvan booths, the whole nation fell on its knees as one man, before Jehovah, on the great day of atonement, with due fasting and solemnity; and the high priest (after sacrifice for himself) laid his hands on one goat, sprinkled its blood on the Ark of the Covenant, containing the law of Moses, and sent off a second, laden with the sins of the people, to the waste and howling wilderness—the home of Satan and the demons who led them into temptation.

The wholesale desertion of their houses by the Jewish people in towns and villages, and temporary residence in sylvan bowers reared with branches of the palm, olive, and myrtle, during the season of the vintage (October), must have presented a striking contrast to the late national solemnity; but such picturesque scenes of pastoral innocence, feasting, and mirth were quite in keeping with their Oriental environment and tropical climate.

Six additional anniversary fasts, arising out of their social history, were held during the course of the year. Three were connected with the siege of Jerusalem, and burning of the Temple of Solomon; one with the assassination of Gedaliah, the Babylonian governor who befriended Jeremiah and the tributary "remnant" after the conquest; another with the deliverance of the people in the days of Queen Esther, in the Persian court; and the last, with the purification of the Temple in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 167).

All the new moons, as well as the seventh day of the week, moreover, during the course of the twelve months, were celebrated with blowing of trumpets and special sacrifices, in accordance with the civil and religious cus-

toms of their Chaldean, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian contemporaries. Not a single word is said regarding the celebration of the seventh day of the week during the course of the patriarchal and tribal periods; and the stringent rules and restrictions which overloaded the observance of all the Sabbaths, fasts, and festivals, as well as the whole Levitical law of Moses, was the very ground of the protesting assaults of the reformers of ancient Judaism. Sacrifices, and their concomitant feasting, undoubtedly formed the substantial rites on all these festal occasions. The popular exposition of the ancient laws in the Synagogue was not engrafted on their religious rites until after the national dissolution of the Babylonian conquest. But the twelve anniversary Sabbaths (rests or holidays) of the Jews, sank into insignificance in comparison with the endless festivals, social games, and religious spectacles (*θεωρία*) peculiar to the Hellenic and Roman people, which were swept away by the cosmopolitan reformation of Paul, the reformer of the Roman Empire.

The four great Hellenic festivals were the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean, celebrated at stated annual intervals. The most famous of them all—the Olympic Games—ran back into the patriarchal and tribal ages of ancient Hellas, and were dedicated to the honour of Ζεὺς-πάτηρ—(Dyaus-pitar = father of light)—father of Gods and men; drew deputies from all the States, who vied with each other in the splendour and number of their offerings at the temple of Olympia in Elis; and only ended with the total abolition of sacred worship, at the edict of Theodosius the Great (A.D. 394). The Pythian rose one century after the first Olympian (B.C. 776), in honour of Apollo (the god of light, of the

Asiatic races), at the behest of the Amphictyonic Council of Eastern Greece, and witnessed the intellectual contests of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Herodotus,—the father of history, and the founders of the Hellenic drama —the popular prophets, and religious instructors of Greece.

The two remaining festivals were held at Nemea, in honour of Zeus, and at the Isthmus of Corinth, in honour of Poseidon (the ruler of the ocean); and, like all the others, were distinguished by contests in poetry, music, gymnastics, running, wrestling, and chariot-racing.

All these festivals, held under religious auspices, formed centres of political reunion amongst the independent States of Greece; but we must leave the reader to form his own estimate of the distinctive features and character of the Hebrew and Hellenic religions, literary, moral, and social culture, on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean Sea. No similar national festivals found a place in Roman life; but the ordinary religious sacrifices and services, devoted to the honour of the greater and lesser gods and goddesses of the Roman, as well as of the Hellenic people, provided them with numerous "fasts" and holidays, of a semi-religious and festal character. Not only so, but the Cæsars, as well as the wealthy patricians and aristocracy, courted the popular favour by splendid exhibitions of wild animals, shows of gladiators, sham naval fights, etc., in the Circus and Colosseum.

Such being the religious and social festivals occurring in every province of the Roman Empire, what instructions did the reformers of the old faith—Jesus as well as Paul —give their disciples on this important subject? The first rencontre between Jesus and the rigid sect of the Pharisees, arose out of his disciples rubbing the chaff

from some wheat in passing through the fields on the seventh day of the week; and the charge brought against them of breaking the law of the sacred day gave him an opportunity of proclaiming the "spirit" of the Sabbath (rest), which ultimately emancipated them from all the Levitical distinctions between sacred days, meats and drinks: (1) The Sabbath was made for the good of man, and not man for the good of the Sabbath; (2) The priests themselves slaughtered animals from morning until evening every Sabbath-day, and were held "blameless" in the performance of their sacred duties; (3) The sacred shew-bread—the twelve loaves daily laid on Jahveh's table, reserved for the priests only—was shared with hungry David, because the law of Levitical "sacrifice" must yield to the moral law of "mercy" and hospitality; (4) The Son of Man (man) was created "Lord" of the Sabbath (rest), and entitled to exercise his own judgment regarding the performance of all acts which ministered to the necessity or convenience of domestic or social life; and (5) The sanction and authority of God—who sends rain and sunshine for the support of all creation, plants, animals, and mankind on the face of the earth, every day alike—is claimed for his religious instruction. "My Father is always working, and I work too, in the kingdom of God" (Matt. xii., Mark ii., Luke xiii., John v.).

Given, then, these revolutionary germs, sown by the reforming "Sower," who went out to sow on the rocky, thorny, fertile soil, and beaten Levitical tracks of ancient Judaism, what phase do they present, thirty years later, in the hands of Paul and Apollos, the reformers of the Roman Empire? According to the letter Apollos addressed to the Hebrews, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee is regarded as a second Joshua to lead his disciples into the

"kingdom of God" on earth. And the "rest" which remains to Christians is the resting (σαββατισμὸς = sabbathism) or cessation from his own works, "as God did from his," and self-devotion to the will of God. The sabbath of the soul, in fact, is the "rest" of the "Spirit"—the peace which passeth all understanding in *Paradise Regained*, delivered from the bondage and slavery of the Levitical law of Moses.

According to the letter of Paul addressed to the Roman Christians after the total abolition of the Levitical Law of Moses, as well as of Roman Polytheism, and the establishment of the moral law of human nature, the reformer prescribes due subjection to the civil government of the Roman Empire, but leaves the observance of their social festivals to the free and independent judgment of his own disciples. "One man judges one day sacred, and another common; a second man judges every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that observes the day, observes it in honour of God; and he that does not observe the day, considers it unnecessary to do so. . . . I know and am persuaded according to the doctrine of our anointed Jesus, that nothing is common (Levitically 'unclean') in itself, but to him that judges anything to be common (Levitically 'unclean') to him it is common." No reference is made to the Babylonian gods, Sabbaths, or festivals rejected by Abraham, who left "Ur of the Chaldees," and emigrated to Western Palestine, or the survival of the seventh day dedicated to the worship of Jahveh, the "only living God." The whole Jewish ritual—holy persons, places, and periods—is swept away *en masse*.

Several years later the fervid reformer found it necessary to transmit a special letter to the Colossian Christians

of Western Asia, who were tantalised, like their Galatian neighbours, with the opposition of Jewish Christians from Jerusalem, embodying the very same counsels regarding the sacred festivals of the Hellenic, Roman, and Oriental people: "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days" (Col. ii.). "I know and am persuaded that there is nothing common (Levitically unclean) in itself, but to him who judges anything to be common, to him it is common," or in other words—"Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving"—is the key to all Paul's legislation on sacred days. Meats and drinks were mere ordinances (*δόγματα*)—human distinctions and prohibitions, devised with a show of wisdom and will-worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body, but are not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh. Accordingly he prescribes a prudential policy of social expediency, toleration, and Christian liberty for the guidance of his Christian disciples in everyday life. And trammelled as he was by the prohibition of blood, things strangled, and meat laid before idols by the Council of Jerusalem, practical difficulties met him at every point in the churches planted in the large cities of the Roman Empire. "All things are lawful to me, but all things are not expedient."

How can we possibly distinguish the sacred animals laid before idols in the public market? appears to have been the question put to the reformer on the subject, "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no questions for conscience' sake. We know an idol is nothing in the world," was Paul's reply.

What course shall we follow in a public temple at a social festival, or at a private entertainment? "Whatever

is set before you eat, asking no questions for conscience' sake. But if any man say to you, This is offered in sacrifice to idols, eat not for his sake that showed it, and for conscience' sake; for the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof" (1 Cor. x.); *i.e.* abundance of food can be found for the entertainment of "weak brethren" who are scandalised by eating animals offered before idols, and holding fellowship and communion with gods whom they regard as "demons" or devils. Consequently the Pythagorean could retain his vegetarianism and "eat herbs" only. The Rechabites, the hermits, Nazarites, and disciples of John the Baptist and Jesus might clothe themselves in camel's hair and leathern girdle, live on locusts and wild honey, touch, taste, and handle not "wine and strong drink;" the Essenians from the banks of Jordan, and the Therapeutae in Egypt, could all find Christian liberty and toleration within the limits of the Christian Church, according to the "gospel" of Paul the Roman reformer. "For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit" (*heilig geist*), or sound mind. "Whatsoever therefore you eat or drink, or whatsoever you do, do all to the glory of God."

What, then, is the nature of the feast held in anniversary of the Founder's martyrdom? First, amongst the Jewish Christians—"the sect of Galileans everywhere spoken against" in Judæa, and throughout the large cities of the Roman Empire, Peter, James, John, and the Galilean brethren must have followed the ordinary practice of "eating the lamb," prescribed by the law of Moses, at the "Passover," under the shadow of the utter disappointment of all their hopes of the restoration of the "kingdom of Israel" by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, accord-

ing to the floating and fluctuating visions of his future reappearance, resting on the fulfilment of the words of the national poets and prophets for thirty years. And what are the feelings of Peter, James, and John, the pillars of the Church at Jerusalem, on listening to the reports of the rise and progress of the disorders of the new sects of Christians who had renounced the Levitical law of Moses at the Passover, in the year A.D. 57, the date of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians? All we know for certain is that some Christians, new converts from the Roman, Hellenic, and Oriental religions, came "hungry," and some Jewish proselytes came "drunk" from the celebration of their national festivals to hold the "love feast," appointed by the Christian brotherhood in memory of the Founder's martyrdom, in the Church at Corinth; and the "survival" of the Jewish Passover, of "eating bread and drinking wine" is the only ceremony alluded to on the occasion. No prescriptions whatever are given by Paul on this subject to the Roman Christians (A.D. 63). Accordingly the mere survival of the Jewish "custom" connected with a national festival must stand or fall in accordance with the doctrine of Christian "liberty" laid down for the guidance of Paul's disciples on sacred days, meats and drinks.

So also with the Jewish rite of circumcision renounced by the first Council of Jerusalem; "for neither circumcision avails anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith, which works by love." Query—Did Paul, the Roman reformer, attach any great value to the Jewish practice of immersion in the waters of Jordan—the mere symbol and shadow of religious initiation and adoption of the new faith? We think not. "I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say

that I had baptized in my own name. And I baptized also the household of Stephanas, besides I know not whether I baptized any of you. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel" (1 Cor. i.). All the mere "shadows" of Levitical rites and ceremonies pale, fade, and vanish away in presence of the glow and halo of divine and everlasting love which "never fails." "But whether there be prophecies they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." Hence no Christian can quote a single passage in the lives and letters of the reformers of the Roman Empire authorising the change of the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week. Not only so, but the fathers themselves are silent on the subject. Accordingly the only explanation which can be given rests on the different modes of calculating time amongst the Jews and Romans—the former counting the days from evening to evening, maintained by modern Jews as well as the Russian Greek Church, and the latter from midnight to midnight, adopted by all the communities of Western Europe. "Not many noble, not many mighty, not many wise" converts—the veriest slaves and outcasts of society in fact—were added to the early Christian Church either in Judæa or in the Roman Empire. And allusion is only once made to Paul preaching until midnight, and a young man falling from the gallery in his slumbers on the evening of the seventh day, *i.e.* the first day of the week (Acts xx.)—clear evidence that they met together at the close of their day's occupation. But when the Jewish worship was abolished at the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, and the Christians were first tolerated, and finally triumphant under the patronage of Constantine the Great, they assembled during the day-

time of the first day of the week, the hereditary ecclesiastical custom which has been perpetuated to the present day.

I append a quotation from the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, written by John Locke, one of our profoundest philosophers, untrammelled by the theological systems imposed on the clergy, describing the abolition of the Jewish ritual by the first Christian reformers.

"The outward forms of worshipping the Deity wanted a reformation; stately buildings, costly ornaments, peculiar and uncouth habits, and a numerous huddle of pompous, fantastical, cumbersome ceremonies, everywhere attended divine worship. This, as it had the peculiar name, so it was thought the principal part, if not the whole of religion; nor could this possibly be amended whilst the Jewish ritual stood, and there was so much of it mixed with the worship of the true God. To this also our Saviour, with the knowledge of the Infinite, Invisible, Supreme Spirit brought a remedy, in a plain, spiritual and suitable worship. Jesus says to the woman of Samaria, 'The hour cometh when ye shall, neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father: but the true worshippers shall worship the Father both in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him.' To be worshipped in spirit and in truth, with application of mind and sincerity of heart, was what henceforth God only required. Magnificent temples, and confinement to certain plans, were now no longer necessary for his worship, which by a pure heart might be performed anywhere. The splendour and distinction of habits, and pomp of ceremonies, and all outside performances, might now be spared. God, who was a Spirit, and made known to be so, required none of these, but the spirit only; and

that in public assemblies (where some actions must lie open to the world) all that could appear and be seen should be done decently and in order, and to edification. Decency, order, and edification, were to regulate all their public acts of worship; and beyond what these required, the outward appearance (which was of little value in the eyes of God) was not to go. Having shut indecency and confusion out of their assemblies, they need not be solicitous about useless ceremonies. Praises and prayers humbly offered up to the Deity was the worship he now demanded; and in these every one was to look after his own heart, and know that it was that alone which God had regard to, and accepted."

The next passage is taken from the *Christian Doctrine* of John Milton, the author of *Paradise Lost*, referring to the same subject, including the abolition of the Jewish Sabbath.

"Since, then, the Sabbath was originally an ordinance of the Mosaic Law, since it was given to the Israelites alone, and that for the express purpose of distinguishing them from other nations, it follows that if (as was shown in the former book) those who live under the Gospel are emancipated from the ordinances of the law in general, least of all can they be considered as bound by that of the Sabbath, the distinction being abolished, which was the special cause of the institution. . . . The law of the Sabbath being thus repealed, that no particular day of worship has been appointed in its place is evident from the same apostle (Rom. xiv. 5): 'One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike; let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.' For since, it was observed above, no particular place is designated under the Gospel for the public

worship of God, there seems no reason why time, the other circumstance of worship, should be more defined. If Paul had not intended to intimate the abolition of all Sabbaths whatever, and of all sanctification of one day above another, he would not have added in the following verse: 'He that regardeth not the day to the Lord, he doth not regard it.' For how does he 'not regard the day to the Lord,' if there be any commandment still in force, by which a particular day, whether the Sabbath or any other, is to be observed?" (p. 605).

Christian Citizens, Women, and Slaves in Civil Society.—What effect did the total abolition of the Levitical Law of Moses and the renunciation of Polytheism produce on the *status* of Christians in civil society, as well as the position of women and slaves in domestic and social life? Such was the comprehensive question raised at the commencement of the Roman Reformation; but as the full reply would involve the consideration of the reorganisation of society on a Christian basis under Constantine the Great, we shall confine our attention at present to the commencement of the social revolution recorded in the lives and letters of the Reformers of ancient Judaism.

The life, mission, and martyrdom of Jesus the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, as well as of Paul, the Roman reformer, stand pre-eminent as types of the founders of political and religious societies. Clouds of mystery hang over the death and burial of Moses: but he must have succeeded in laying the foundation of the Hebrew tribes after an Egyptian revolution. Not less hazy is the distant perspective of the Roman senate and conscript fathers on the seven hills of *Roma Antiqua;* and their poetic annals leave us in doubt whether Romulus was cut in pieces by the senate, or raised to heaven as a god.

Sacrifices and incense were still offered in his temple in the times of Jesus and Paul. But little is known of Numa Pompilius, the reputed founder of the Roman religion. Three centuries, however, passed away before the Prophet of Nazareth was voted a god by the Christian Council of Nikaia, in the age of Constantine the Great. The startling story of 600,000 slaves marching to the conquest of Canaan through the barren wilderness, in the midst of drought, famine, pestilence and portentous marvels is well known. So are the tribal feuds and hostilities, Sabine rape, adultery, and expulsion of the Tarquins in early Roman social life. And the foundation of Christianity—the soul and body of the young nations of modern Europe and Britain, was laid in the midst of similar social and religious fermentation and commotions.

The very first attempt to open the eyes of the Galilean people and deliver them from the captivity to the Levitical Law of Moses roused their indignation, and provoked the threat to hurl him over the rocks. Spies from the priests and Pharisees tracked his steps from time to time. Test questions on the religion and politics of the day were put to him for solution in his public addresses (Matt. xxii. 15, Luke xii. 13); and the very words which the Egyptian taskmasters taunted Moses with, on slaying their friend and fellow, baffled their transparent snare to involve him in the discharge of political functions. But the popular procession of the Prophet on an ass into Jerusalem; the decided expression of the people's wishes, "Blessed is the king of Israel that comes in the name of the Lord," in a country rife with insurrection, and men "setting up for kings," precipitated his martyrdom. And he died the victim of priestly government, the defenders

of social order, on the charge of treason and blasphemy, with the ironical inscription on his Roman cross—"Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews," in the full hope of the immortality of his prophetic genius. "Verily I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it brings forth much fruit." "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to me" (John xii.).

The stun which his disciples received from the terrible blow to all their hopes of the restoration of national independence lasted apparently until the day of Pentecost, fifty days after his death; for they locked the doors for fear of the Jews. But the enthusiastic Galileans no sooner started on their missionary labours than they were arrested, threatened, and beaten by the government, and only answered, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken to you more than to God, judge you. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard."

Stephen, the Greek deacon, filled with the Holy Spirit of the "sect," intoxicated with the honours of his new position, by the laying on of the hands of the disciples of the martyred Prophet, gloried in the exalted views of the Galileans, and died by stoning in the presence of Paul on the charge—"This man ceases not to speak blasphemous words against the holy place, and the law: for we have heard him say that Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered."

The very first appearance of Paul, the Roman reformer, after the thunderstorm which formed the turning-point of his life, provoked the bigotry of the Jews, threats of assassination, and drove him down the walls of Damascus

in a basket, in flight to Arabia. And the fervour of his religious enthusiasm carried him by land and sea, and from city to city of the Roman Empire, during the chequered and stormy course of his reforming career for thirty years. At one time the storm howled round him for a whole hour,—"Great is Diana of the Ephesians,"—in the town hall of Ephesus. At another he is left for dead by stoning outside the town. The people on the Temple stairs of Jerusalem threaten to tear him to pieces. The Jewish "zealots" swear an oath to murder the apostate. "We have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes who has also gone about to profane the Temple"—was the accusation of Tertullus, the orator of Jerusalem, in Herod's judgment-hall at Cæsarea. And the long roll of his lifelong sufferings and indomitable heroism has nerved the souls of thousands of martyrs in every land and age (2 Cor. xi.). Surely if any poetical, military, or religious genius was entitled to recognise the future immortality of his intellectual labours, it was Paul the Roman reformer, who could justly exclaim, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but to all them who love his appearing" (2 Tim. iv.).

Such was the stormy state of social war and religious crusade roused by the founder of the religious and political societies of modern Christendom—we say political also, for Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, first adopted twelve according to the number of the tribes of Israel, and then seventy disciples like Moses after the

Exodus, and led the people to believe in his intention of restoring the kingdom on its original pattern; whereas Paul followed the model of all the Roman, Hellenic, and Jewish governments of the day in the foundation of the Christian Church (ἐκκλησία). But we shall observe their assimilation to each other in the future course of their development.

And when we look a little more closely into the social environment of the Jewish and Roman reformers, after the death of the Galilean Prophet, the ringleader of the sect of Nazarenes was honoured only with a passing notice by Josephus, in the midst of the social convulsions and last agonies of the dying nation, and the brief remark, "The tribe of Christians is not extinct at this day." The Roman historians themselves at first confounded the Christians or Chrestians with the other Jewish sects; and Tacitus mentions the banishment of 4000 Jews and Egyptians to Sardinia on account of religious tumults. But the Christians alone were charged with the burning of the city of Rome, and punished with the greatest severity by the Neronian government.

The scanty details of domestic incidents and dissensions occasioned by the adoption of the new faith is remarkable. The relations of Jesus himself did not believe in him (John vii.), a fact which he adroitly availed himself of, when he announced in their presence that all domestic relationships must be sacrificed in the pursuit of truth. "My father and mother, sister and brother, are those who do the will of God."

The strong patriotic feelings of the "Galileans" flash out in opposition to his Jewish opponents occasionally, and demand the whole burnt-offering of their common instincts and natural affections. "Master, suffer me first to go and

bury my father," was the request of a weak and humble disciple. But Jesus said, "Follow me, and let the dead (souls) bury their dead" (corpses). One blind man only, whose eye was anointed with spittle, is reported to have been cast out of the synagogue by the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, because he openly confessed that the Prophet was sent of God.

On turning again to the Acts of the Apostles, the first crusade started against the Galilean revolutionists, we find, ended prematurely with the conversion of the chief inquisitor, Paul himself; but scarcely one domestic event is recorded which throws any light on the religious principles and passions brought into close collision; one passing glimpse only of the risks and surprises of Paul and Peter's friends is obtained from the history of their missionary enterprises. *E.g.*, here is an episode which could easily be matched from Foxe's Martyrology. Peter escapes from prison, no matter how, and knocks at his friends' door; "and when Rhoda knew Peter's voice, she opened not the gate for gladness, but ran in, and told how Peter stood before the gate. And they said unto her, Thou art mad. But she constantly affirmed that it was even so. Then said they, It is his angel. But Peter continued knocking: and when they had opened the door, and saw him, they were astonished. And he departed, and went into another place." An angel might save him from prison, but cannot guarantee his safety amongst the Jews.

Take this other companion picture from the life and adventures of Paul, which proves at least that the natural affection of his "sister's son" was not deadened altogether by political and religious bigotry and fanaticism. "And when Paul's sister's son heard of the Jews lying in

wait, he went and entered into the castle and told Paul." And the Roman captain carried him off to Cæsarea, with a military detachment of 70 horsemen and 200 spearmen.

Once more, one gladly brings into the foreground the Christian "nocturne" of sympathy with suffering; the scene of midnight earthquakes; the shattered prison, and the gaoler drawing his sword in dread of death on account of his prisoners' escape; and Paul singing "spiritual songs," smarting from the pain of his public scourging, and crying out, "Do yourself no harm, for we are all here." "And he took them the same hour of the night and washed their stripes, and was baptized, he and all his straightway. And when he had brought them into his house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with all his house." Undoubtedly the thrilling episode is an honour to our common humanity; but the sudden resolution of the gaoler to join the rising Church of Philippi would probably not surprise his sceptical friends who had lost their faith in the "gods of Greece" during the course of three centuries posterior to Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

From social scenes and domestic incidents such as these the reader may form some idea of the civil, religious, and moral condition both of Jewish, Roman, and Greek society, and the stormy and tumultuous reception given to the Christian reformers throughout the Roman Empire. But after all they only formed a fractional portion of the endless political and religious parties who carried forward the social struggle of existence on the surface of the European, Asiatic, and African continents, and ground the old faith and institutions into dissolution by incessant and gradual disintegration.

Why, then, it has often been asked, did the Jewish,

Galilean, Nazarene, and Roman Christians encounter such strenuous opposition and obstruction? First, in Judæa, because the Galileans openly professed to revolutionise the religion and government; and second, in the Roman Empire, because Paul and his fellow-missionaries, as well as the Jews, generally branded the gods of Greece and Rome with the title of "demons" and "devils." "My dearly beloved, flee from idolatry" (εἰδωλολατρεία = the worship of God by images), sums up the fervid style of the Roman reformer. "I say that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I would not that you should have fellowship with devils" (1 Cor. x.). This subject, however, will come up again under the *régime* of the Latin and Greek fathers.

Let us now examine the civil, moral, and social code prescribed by Paul, the Roman reformer, for the practical guidance of Christian citizens, women, and slaves.

All religious legislation apart, the first law laid down by Paul for Christian citizens was loyalty to civil government: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God" (Rom. xiii., Titus iii.). The charge of treason and blasphemy, of setting up another king and religion, brought against the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, and his Galilean disciples, cannot be rebutted by any honest critic. And they paid the penalty of all reformers, political and religious, who aim at revolutionising the civil and religious institutions of a nation. The position of Paul, however, was totally different; the utmost liberty was admitted for the exercise of all the religions of Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Roman Empire; but the Jews and Christians exceeded all the bounds of legitimate toleration and philosophical discussion, and openly

assailed the national religion as demonolatry. Hence the expulsion of 4000 Jews and Egyptians at the order of the Senate, and the long series of Christian persecutions, or, as we prefer to say, "struggle of existence between the old and new faiths." Oriental Protestantism displayed the same arrogance against Polytheism as their hereditary successors, Papalism, Prelacy, and Presbyterianism in modern Christendom. But no attempt whatever was made by Paul to revolutionise the Roman government. The whole course of his argument, indeed, in the letter addressed to the Roman Christians, incidentally proves that he regarded the empire as the true successor of the Jewish kingdom of God. Accordingly, all his political injunctions are enforced with the divine sanction and authority. And well he might, for the Roman love of civil justice and social order was his only safeguard against the religious bigotry and fanaticism of his Jewish fellow-countrymen.

Roman slavery was therefore accepted as part and parcel of civil government, and Roman political institutions, as well as in Judæa. "Are you called, being a slave (δοῦλος)? Do not vex yourself on that score; but if you can obtain your freedom, take advantage of it. For the slave who is called to be a Christian is a freeman in a brotherhood. The freeman also who is called to be a Christian becomes the slave of our anointed Master." Slavery, in fact, formed the "domestic service" of all Oriental, Jewish, Hellenic, and Roman people, and was regulated by the civil laws of each independent state. The language of Paul himself only gave expression to the common opinion of all the jurists and philosophers of the age. Accordingly we do not feel called on to enter into its history, origin, nature, and development in the

European, Asiatic, and African continents. Nothing would be easier than to furnish glowing and pathetic descriptions of slavery,—male and female,—concubinage inclusive, drawn from the patriarchal, tribal, and imperial periods of Eastern and Western civilisation. The romantic adventures of Joseph, and his viziership in the court of Pharaoh; the nursing and education of Moses, the foundling of the Nile, in the palace by Pharaoh's daughter; the little captive Hebrew maiden in the house of Naaman, the leprous Syrian captain; Esther the Queen in Ahasuerus's court; and Abishag, the nurse and concubine of the aged David amongst the Jews; Æsop the fabulist, Epictetus the Stoic philosopher, Horace the poet and freedman's son, Poppæa the Jewess concubine of Nero, and many others amongst the Greeks and Romans, would occur to the mind of the reader,—point a moral, and adorn a splendid series of tales and essays embellished with old saws and modern instances from the poets and philosophers, on the services and sacrifices, hardships and consolations of slaves and concubines.

All these instances were familiar to Paul in his sacred books, Greek and Roman story. Full well he knew that the whole Persian kingdom was scoured for virgins to fill the royal seraglio, and Esther the Jewess selected for the successor of fallen Queen Vashti, and that the same practice was followed in the kingdom of Israel for the harem of David, king of Jerusalem. "Now when King David was old and stricken in years, and they covered him with clothes but he got no heat, his servants said to him, Let there be sought for my lord the king a young virgin: and let her stand before the king, and let her cherish him, and let her lie in thy bosom, that my

lord the king may get heat. So they sought for a fair damsel throughout all the coast of Israel, and found Abishag a Shunamite, and brought her to the king. And the damsel was very fair, and cherished the king, and ministered to him; but the king knew her not" (1 Kings i.).

For aught we know to the contrary, the privilege of leaving the prison and living in a hired house in Rome may have been due to the favour of Poppæa, the Jewess and concubine of the Emperor Nero. The Passover itself was the anniversary of the emancipation of 600,000 slaves—the forefathers and founders of the Jewish nation—but that was ages ago. Slavery was a social institution, and loyalty to the social institutions of the Romans was the prudential policy and political expediency adopted by Paul, the Roman reformer. Accordingly slavery was tolerated in the Christian brotherhood. But all the exactions of his domestic and moral code are as appropriate to the domestic and correlative rights and duties of social service in the present day. "Slaves (servants in the English translation), obey in all things your masters, according to the flesh; not with eye service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that you also have a Master in heaven" (Col. iii., Ephes. vi., Titus ii.).

We have said that Paul only gave expression to the common feeling of the age on the subject of slavery, and the opinion of Seneca, the statesman and philosopher, bears witness to its correctness. "To govern slaves with kindness (*moderaté* = without running to extremes) is an honour; and if you wish to grant them freedom, consider not what you can allow them without loss, but

what the nature of goodness and equity require. Slaves, are they? Ay, but men too. Slaves, are they? Ay, and fellow-members of the same family. Slaves, are they? Ay, and humble friends. This is a summary of my opinion on the subject. Live with an inferior in the manner you would wish him to do if he were your superior. Live with a slave as a gentle and friendly companion, and admit him into your confidence and to your table. Every one creates his own manners. You may convert your own house into a palace if you choose" (*Epist.* xlvii.).

No need of filling our pages with certificates of character in favour of slaves, or quotations from the Register of Emancipations in Rome. The tutor in every patrician and aristocratic house was generally a Greek slave (*Græculus*), and the trusty confidant of the head (*dominus*) of the family, and competent amanuensis and secretary. In all probability Onesimus, the fugitive slave (lately so serviceable in the Southern States of the New World), belonged to the literary class; for he is styled "faithful and beloved brother," and son in the faith, and sent back, according to law, to his master Philemon, with a letter of commendation extant to the present day.

Thank heaven the social institution of slavery and concubinage, the heirloom of barbarism and Oriental life, tolerated in the Christian Church on grounds of political expediency, has now undergone its "blood and fire baptism," and been gradually transformed into modern domestic and civil service, during the progress of modern civilisation. Query: What social conversion of "domestic service" will take place during the course of the succeeding era of rational culture and scientific education? Echo answers—What?

The third portion of Paul's social code refers to the position of Woman, and includes the regulation of married and unmarried life; husbands and wives; parents and children; virgins and female slaves. And loyalty to law and social order, conformity to caste, forms the rule and standard of all his injunctions. "Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as our anointed Master is the head of the Church. Husbands, love your wives, even as our anointed Master also loved the Church" (Eph. v.).

Such is the fundamental law of the human family, the reciprocal claims of love and duty imposed on man and woman by the law of nature. So easy to state, and so difficult to administer, repealed by all legislators, and which has proved the dominant force and factor in all social progress and civilisation.

The social common-place recognised by all the laws and customs of Eastern and Western civilisation in Paul's letter to the Roman Christians—polygamy, in fact, ran counter to public opinion, both in Roman, Hellenic, and Jewish social life; and the Roman, as well as Greek, aristocracy and philosophers would have taunted Paul himself with the Oriental harems of the Jewish patriarchs and princes. Legal concubinage and the worship of Venus, it is true, prevailed to a certain extent in the large cities of the empire. But the great body of the population practised, as they still do, monogamy, from hereditary and social custom, both in Eastern and Western civilisation. And we base our assertion not only on the well-known facts, but also on the moral standard of the great epics (which have been called the Bibles) of Greece and Rome —the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, and the *Æneid* of

Virgil; the former of which hinges on the sanctity of the home, and the purity of the married relationship, in the lives of Menelaus, Helena, Ulysses, and Penelope; and the latter on the filial piety of "pious Æneas."

What, then, forms the distinctive nature and tendencies of Paul's legislation on Woman,—wives, virgins, and female slaves? In the first place, the source of all his opinions on woman must be traced to his Jewish birth and Oriental education; for the origin of evil and death itself sprang from the original sin of the first woman (*Havah*= Eve, the mother of life), who was deceived by the wiles of the serpent and guilty of the first transgression, and cursed with the pains of childbirth; and the Romans and Greeks, who believed in Pandora's box, could not take exception to the popular theory of the origin of evil.

2. His Oriental doctrine of the imprisonment of the soul in the body or flesh lent intensity to his opinions regarding woman; for woman formed the strongest temptation to sinful "flesh."

3. The Oriental practice of Gymnosophists (naked devotees imitated by Isaiah), Hermits, Prophets, Nazarites, and Essenians, who renounced the society of woman—the author of all evil, which led the "flesh" astray,—as well as "wine and strong drink"—the stimulants of sin and moral transgression,—left their stamp on his social legislation.

4. The well-known asceticism (penance) and celibacy practised by John the Baptist and his cousin Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, his acknowledged predecessors and masters, must have determined the nature and tendencies of his legislation on woman; and lastly, his belief in the impending "end of the world" being at hand imparted a fanatical and visionary character to his

exactions, especially in his first letter to the Corinthian Christians, written at the commencement of his legislation.

Accordingly we have not the slightest doubt that Paul outgrew the Pharisaic delusions and Oriental superstitions which coloured and tainted his earliest legislation on the subject of woman, referred to in the first letter to the Corinthians (ch. vii.), the very legislation which swayed the Christian Papacy and priesthood into the profession and practice of Oriental celibacy and asceticism, and all the social corruptions of Papal nepotism and priestly concubinage, assailed at the Protestant Reformation.

Look on this picture: "Now, concerning the things whereof you wrote unto me, it is good for a man not to touch a woman" (this conciliates the Nazarites and Essenians); "nevertheless, to avoid fornication let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband" (that satisfies the Greeks and Romans); "But I speak this by way of counsel, and not by commandment" (1 Cor. vii.); and then look on that: "Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as the Anointed is the head of the Church. Husbands, love your wives, even as the Anointed also loved the Church" (Eph. v., Col. iii.). The former was written A.D. 57, and the latter about thirty years later, in his religious career of perpetual discussion and reformation; the one sprang from the late member of the strictest sect of Pharisees, the proud inquisitor of the Sanhedrim, who had not yet parted with his hereditary Jewish notions regarding woman and the approaching "end of the world;" the other is pure human nature and Roman common-sense, crowned with a Christian similitude.

The former is downright asceticism and Pharisaic fanaticism, the morals of the Hindu gymnosophist, the yogi, the fakir, and the pillar-saints, who fled from the society of woman, the natural offspring of a perverted mental and moral philosophy; the doctrine of the "divine soul" buried in the heart of mortal "flesh" and corruption. Better not to touch a woman! Better not to marry! Better, however, to marry than to burn! only, moreover, to prevent fornication and devotion to Venus! The time is short! The end of the world is at hand, too! Seek not a wife! The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband. Greater holiness in single blessedness! The very tone and spirit of his Master, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee: "There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it" (Matt. xix.).

"But to the rest speak I, not the Master; and I think also that I have the Spirit of God as well as he" (1 Cor. vii. 12, 17). Is it possible? Will the Roman law tolerate the divorce of husband and wife? Wife desertion and husband desertion too, on the mere grounds of a difference of religious opinion? Of course it will. The power of life and death, in the Roman family and all its members,—wife, children, and slaves,—was placed in the hands of the head of the house. The fact is, marriage was not dreamed of amongst slaves any more than lately in the New World. You only required to eat a barley-cake (*confarreatio*) together, and you were husband and wife. "Divus Augustinus" himself, one of the greatest of the Roman Fathers, lived in legal and

fashionable concubinage with two females successively, and sent the latter home to her native place in Africa on joining the new faith.

Turn now from this picture of panic-stricken legislation, penned in the fires of hot persecution, and under the terror of the approaching "end of the world," to that, written ten years later (A.D. 63), in the cool atmosphere of a Roman prison. Not one single word regarding his Jewish and hereditary Pharisaic delusions! Nothing but the sound sense and legal lucidity of a Roman jurist remain. But the Holy Spirit was poured out on all flesh, sons and daughters, young men and old men, servants and handmaids. If the divine gifts of faith, healing, knowledge, powers, tongues, judgment of spirits, interpretation, revelation, and the crowning grace of love,—if talent and genius of every degree and "measure" were imparted to woman as well as man,—if poetesses sang, and priestesses uttered "oracles" in the sacred temples of Greece, and vestal virgins voluntarily devoted themselves to the guardianship of the sacred fire,—can Paul, the Roman reformer, consistently quench the Holy Spirit and wrest their rights and responsibilities from woman in the open assemblies of the religious brotherhood? Some such claims must have been made by the defenders of woman's rights; but all such attempts were suppressed by an appeal to the social customs of the age: "It is a shame for woman to speak in the church" (ἐκκλησία); and secondly, to the authority of the law of Moses (an inconsistency): "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence; for Adam was first formed, then Eve (a Jewish speculation!), and Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression" (as if her husband had not suffered from

"fascination"): "They are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law" (abolished on all other subjects!): "And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church."

The whole subject of Female slavery and concubinage is evaded from beginning to end of Paul's legislation on women, a fact which can only be ascribed to his prudential policy of political expediency; and we need scarcely repeat the statement that Paul's legislation, with its decided tendencies to asceticism, must be held responsible for the Papal and priestly celibacy of the Christian Church, with all the concomitant monasticism, conventualism, and concubinage which prevailed until the period of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century.

In conclusion, can any rational man or woman then feel the slightest hesitation in renouncing the social code of temporising and political expediency which sprang from the bosom of the Roman, Hellenic, Oriental, and Jewish environment? We should think not. Who credits the Babylonian or Hebrew theories of the origin of evil, through the medium of woman, forbidden fruit, and the serpent's wiles, any more than Pandora's box? Who believes the contradictory narratives of the Jahvite and Elohite accounts of the creation of the world, the one in which man and woman were made, male and female, and the other in which woman is made from the rib of Adam? Does any scientist acquainted with the "Stony Bible" of geology, and the immense "antiquity of the earth," fancy that life, birth, and death sprang into existence four thousand years ago, according to the Mosaic account of the creation? Who dreams of following in the footsteps of the celibate prophets,—naked Isaiah for three

and a half years—hermits, Nazarites, Rechabites, and Essenians—ay, or John the Baptist, or his cousin Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, themselves, in the present day? *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.* Times have changed, and our social customs and conventionalities have undergone a slow and gradual revolution. The fact is undeniable. It is no longer "a shame" for women to speak in public and assemblies. The female veil (or *yaschmak*, still worn in the East) has vanished from the countenance of women, and all fear and worship of angels too. Who ever charges woman with usurping authority over man in displaying her divine "gifts" and "graces" in any civil, professional, or social sphere of duty or service in the nineteenth century? All these arguments, wielded by Paul for the "subjection of women," were derived from baseless Oriental theories and speculations, and utterly inapplicable to modern Christian society. The time will come, and now is, when cultured woman, armed with the discoveries of modern science, will assert that all the religions, philosophies, and ethics of the East and West, were founded, expounded, and administered by man; that a new "interpretation" or "revelation" of the volume of nature and human nature has been given by "Exact Science;" that man and woman are born male and female, with special cranial capacities and capabilities, by the divine will and constitution of nature, and convertible by culture and kindliness (kind-likeness) for the discharge of all the co-operative spheres of social life. All old Roman, Hellenic, Hebrew, and Oriental theories have vanished away before the dawn of patient observation, analysis, and verified experience in civil, social, and domestic life. God speed the progress of equal education, culture, training, refinement, and

employment of man and woman in modern society!—equal association, tastes, and sympathies in companionship, by "natural selection"!—equal eligibility to all civil professional offices and occupations of male and female genius!—equal co-operation in the social struggle of existence, by open competition, natural selection, and the survival of the strongest and fittest institutions for the salvation of society!

The last piece of Pauline legislation, referring to the establishment of Legal Tribunals, and courts of summary justice, for the prevention of scandal amongst the Roman people, was a total failure, and inconsistent with his prescription of submission to the civil government of the age. "If then you have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church" (1 Cor. vi.)—a most invidious prescription, on the very face of it.

Such a practice was most probably borrowed from the legislation of Moses, adopted at the suggestion of Jethro, his father-in-law—the selection of seventy judges to act as his assessors, in the administration of civil justice. But the prudential counsels to hush up all disputes and differences in domestic and commercial affairs were far too good to be carried out in common life, even though sanctioned by the prospect of serving an apprenticeship to their future duties in the "kingdom of heaven." "Do you not know that the saints shall judge the world? Do you not know that you shall judge angels? Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints?" (1 Cor. vi.) And had not the Master also said, "Whosoever smites you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. If any man will sue you at law, and take away your coat, let him have your cloak too."

Can you, however, enforce obedience to your private legislation amongst your Roman, Athenian, Oriental, Alexandrian, and Hebrew disciples in every city of the empire? "I have written to you not to keep company, if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat." Yes, you can excommunicate—you did excommunicate and deliver one of the brethren to Satan for the destruction of the flesh. And when he was pining away beneath the curse of everlasting pain, the penitent was restored to fellowship with the saints. Will the Christian Jew of Corinth take kindly to the "extortions" of Jewish merchants in Smyrna or Ephesus? Will the Christian slave-dealer piously pardon the fraudulent exactions of the Alexandrian importer? Will the friends of the deserted wife graciously submit to the plea of Christian humility and obedience to Pauline authority? Apparently they did not, for Christian cœnobitism and Pauline civil legislation remained a "dead letter" in the statute-book of the Christian Church; and the people must have reverted to the "common law" of Rome, which lies at the foundation of all European and British jurisprudence. Query: How long will the modern reformers of legal science take in sweeping away the barbarous relics of Roman jurisprudence—the Pandects and Institutes of Justinian, the fossil "survivals" of the civil and canon law of mediævalism—and favour us with a simple civil and common code for the regulation of domestic and social life, in accordance with the principles of legal equity and male and female co-operation?

There, then, is the practice of Roman Christianity in all its cosmopolitan character, adaptability, and elasticity

amongst the conflicting races and religions of the Roman Empire. And it is the pure image and reflection of Paul, the Roman reformer, who said: "Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to God, but under the law to the Anointed), that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some (1 Cor. ix.).

"Christian casuistry," or rules for the settlement of special cases, was the natural consequence. Every bishop issued his own "*Ductor Dubitantium*," or guide to doubters in holy living and dying. But a lifetime would be necessary to sift the decrees and decisions of the fathers and doctors belonging to the Christian Talmuds, Mishnas, and Gemaras—the enormous folios of canon law, creeds, and councils, which rear their heads tier on tier in the rabbinical Tower of Babel, on the way to heaven, crowned with the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility of the latest Ecumenical Council, and the Public Worship Regulation Bill of old England.

How different the simple privilege of the Christian in the days of Paul: "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." But who can be surprised that the weak brother and sister—the timid and dependent Greek and Roman, who humbly craved the will of the gods through the medium of a priesthood by peering into the bowels of a sacred animal, the flight of birds, the casting of lots, and the glint of a gem on a priest's bosom—persisted in consulting the Christian "Prophet" and seer—the

anointed successor of the founder? A few instances will exemplify the operation of Paul's legislation, in ordinary life.

Take a Christian wife and a Roman husband, asking counsel of the head of the Church—the "presbyter" or "elder."

"O sir" (*κύριε*—generally translated "Lord" in the English translation), "what shall I do in my case? My husband is a thorough Cynic and Pyrrhonist, and declared the other day that you had set up a companion God to Numa Pompilius, the founder of the Roman religion; and I replied that my old gods were nothing but demons in disguise. He condemned me to the women's apartments, as an unfit person to associate with his children and family. O sir, what shall I do in the absence of my dear children?" *P.* "Do? All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient. Milk for babes, and strong meat for men of full age: we know an idol is nothing in the world; but as both you and your husband believe that they represent 'divine powers,' you can easily arrive at terms of mutual concession and toleration. Try Paul's advice to Timothy: 'Foolish and unlearned questions avoid; knowing that they generate strife. And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God, perhaps will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth.'" *W.* "O sir, I will try it. I thank you." *P.* "Fare-you-well!"

Take a Christian husband and wife puzzling their heads about the marriage of their son with a Greek lady, in the presence of the presiding presbyter:—

W. "O sir, my husband and I are nearly at our wits' end; we have sent petition after petition up to the court

of heaven, and neither Jesus himself has appeared to us as he did to Paul, nor has any angel come with a message, as was done to John in the Revelation. Our son has been 'fascinated' by our neighbour's daughter, and is resolved to marry her in spite of her Greek religion. O sir, what shall we do to be saved from this terrible calamity?" *P.* "Do? All things are lawful; but all things are not expedient. Paul distinctly says, 'Be not unequally yoked together.' But Timothy's mother was a Jewess, and his father a Greek, and their son made an excellent presiding presbyter. The father and son are out and out 'Platonists,' and pure 'Idealists'—in fact differ little from Paul's beloved brother, Apollos of Alexandria; and I have no doubt the lovely young Greek lady will soon find it 'expedient' to adopt our new faith.'" *H.* "A Christian oracle! All good angels bless you. I will give my hearty consent to the union. Farewell!'"

Take a Christian wife and a Greek merchant, seeking counsel regarding attendance at the public games—the Greek festivals.

"O sir, my husband has landed safely after a stormy voyage from Smyrna and Ephesus, and hung up his cloak in the Temple of Neptune, in token of gratitude for the salvation of himself and his vessel. But, worse than all that, he wishes me to accompany him with a splendid robe to the Isthmian Games, held in honour of Neptune. Do you think I can consistently appear in the midst of sacrifices to demons, and the images of the gods?" *P.* "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient. I am an old Stoic myself, lady, and all my friends are going to the national festival as usual; but they are enlightened enough to regard Neptune as a mere title for the 'Ruler of the ocean;' and we know an idol is nothing in the world.

Accordingly, my dear lady, my counsel to you is to follow the customs of the people, as Socrates, the great reformer of Athens, used to say, in their social amusements, and rejoice in the muscular education and healthy gymnastics of the rising generation." *W.* "Lord bless you for your gospel of expediency! My husband admires my meekness and 'moderation' so much, that I do believe he will soon adopt our new 'interpretation' of the universe. Fare-you-well!"

Once more. Take the instance of a Christian female slave in a Roman family, on a visit to the presiding presbyter of the church. *S.* "My spiritual father, I hope I have not walked further than a Sabbath-day's journey to visit you. My father and mother were Jews, and joined the Christians some time ago; and my mother told me that Paul, a great missionary who came to Rome, said that all the gods were demons, but that an idol was nothing in the world. Will you tell me whether the God of the Jews or Christians will be angry if I place the sacrifices before the Lares and Penates—the gods of my master's house?—will he be jealous if I serve mother Venus and her little boy Cupid with flowers and incense, at their order?" *P.* "My little daughter in the faith, I am very glad to see you. All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient. Our God angry at your master showing gratitude to divine beings who protect his house?—jealous of him for desiring the spirit of love to unite the hearts of his children in marriage with their dear friends? No, no! you must not think so. Only believe that your master and mistress wish the blessing of heaven on their family, and that an image is only a representation of the 'Divine Power' who rules over all the world. Did you ever read the story of a little captive maid in Naaman the

Syrian's house? No? Well, then, her master was cured of his leprosy by visiting the Hebrew prophet she mentioned to him, and he believed in the Hebrew God, and bent his body in the Temple of Rimmon, along with the king who leant on him for support. If your mistress ask you any questions about your faith and practice, tell her you bow in a Temple of Rimmon, and yet believe in the Maker of heaven and earth only." *S.* "Thank you, sir. Can I go along with them, too, to see the games in the grand Colosseum—the emperor, Poppæa with all her jewels, the senate, consulars, knights, and all the rich folk at the spectacle?" *P.* "Oh yes. The emperor knows right well that all the people enjoy the hunting of wild beasts as well as the aristocracy themselves, in their own forests and foreign countries." *S.* "Thank you again, sir." *P.* "Farewell! and remember that the Sabbath was made for our good and enjoyment. We Christians are not bound by the traditions of the Jewish rabbis in Jerusalem."

Mutatis mutandis fabula narratur de te. If the reader will only change the deities of the old Romans for the "Divine conceptions" set up in Christian temples for worship and adoration by Papal, Prelatical, Presbyterian, and Independent ecclesiastics, and adapt the illustrations, he will meet "modern instances" and a ready-made and appropriate application.

CHAPTER IV.

FUTURE LIFE.

LIKE all the other articles of Paul's creed, his theory of a future life followed the lines of his mental, moral, and religious development. Accordingly, we must ascertain what it was—(1) in his Jewish and Pharisaic stage; (2) at the commencement of his Christian legislation (1 Thess.); and (3) at the completion of his Roman Christianity.

1. All discussion on this point is unnecessary; for the pupil of Gamaliel of Jerusalem, as Paul was, accepted the common speculations of the Jewish rabbis regarding the future lot of the "just man" in "Abraham's bosom," as well as of the "unjust" in the place of everlasting torment.

2. The real question at issue is,—Did his adoption of Galileanism modify his Jewish and Pharisaic speculations to any extent at the commencement of his Christian legislation? (1 Thess., A.D. 52) for even at that time he reminded his disciples that they were "followers of the Churches of God, which in Judæa were founded by the Anointed Jesus" (1 Thess. ii.), from which it appears that he still clings to the fulfilment of the "Hope of Israel," the restoration of the "Kingdom," the reappearance of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, and the reign of the saints on earth; else what does he mean by "the coming of our Master, the Anointed Jesus, with all the saints"? But out comes a hidden "mystery": "I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them who are asleep, that you sorrow not, even as others who have no hope.

For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trumpet of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we who are alive shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we be ever be with the Lord" (1 Thess. iv.).

Meet the Master in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Master? Where did Paul obtain this new "mystery"? Only on the wings of the classic Pegasus of the poets and philosophers of Greece and Rome—we mean the summit of cloud-capped "Olympus"—the throne of Zeus (Dyaus = the father of light and day)—the court of heaven and hall of heroes, according to Cicero's "Dream of Scipio;" the original home of the human soul, according to Seneca, where the son of Marius was welcomed by his relations to receive initiation into the "mysteries" of the stars and universal nature. For "Abraham's bosom" was a subterranean region, according to Josephus and rabbinical tradition, as was also Elysium and Tartarus, of the *Odyssey* and *Æneid*. One thing is evident, the Thessalonian Christians were thrown into a panic at the first publication of the new "Gospel;" and the soothing message despatched—"We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Master, the Anointed Jesus, and by our gathering together to him, that you be not soon shaken in your minds, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, that the day of the Anointed is at hand. Let no man deceive you by

any means; for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition" (2 Thess. ii.). Now you know that the reign of the saints for a thousand years is not "at hand," although predicted by John in the Revelation. But who reads John? or knows by whom or when it was written?

3. Turn now to his Corinthian letter, written a few years later, and what is Paul's doctrine on a future life now? Still "waiting for the coming of our Master, the Anointed Jesus" (1 Cor. i. 7). But sceptical Greeks and Romans who had renounced the "poetic fictions" of Homer and Virgil, the popular representations of a future life of rewards and punishments, posed him with questions—"How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?" Out comes another "mystery" and "revelation" (*ἀποκάλυψις*), literally buried beneath a mountain of similitudes taken from heaven, earth, and ocean, viz. the revelation of the resurrection of the "spiritual body" (*σῶμα πνευματικὸν*); for "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," and mortal things do not inherit immortality. "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (1 Cor. xv.).

No ascension into the air this time, however; and why? Probably owing to the objections taken to his former "revelation," contradicting the parable of Dives and Lazarus issued by Jesus himself. At any rate the locality of the future life is left in perfect vagueness. And what is the nature of the "spiritual body"? That is a question which met with various replies by all schools of theology down to the present day; but they may be

classified under the heads of literal and spiritual interpretation. His similes are taken from heaven, earth, and ocean —the sowing and springing; the death and resurrection of grain; the birth, life, death, and reproduction of beasts birds, fish, and mankind—"terrestrial bodies": the rise and setting of sun, moon, and stars—"celestial bodies." But the single idea which he attempts to illustrate by this series of similes is the exalted and glorified nature of the "spiritual body," which alone enters into the kingdom of heaven. The mere reproduction of grain, animals, and men does not give full expression to the doctrine unfolded in the Pauline "mystery" of the resurrection. The antithesis lies between the magnitude and glory of terrestrial and celestial bodies, as is evidenced from his own series. "There is a natural (*ψυχικὸν*) body, and there is a spiritual body" (*σῶμα πνευματικὸν*). It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. As we have borne the image of the earthy (*χοϊκὸν*), we shall also bear the image of the heavenly (*ἐπουράνοιν*). And if we bear in mind the Jewish dogma of the creation of the human soul by Divine inspiration, or breathing into his nostrils the breath of life (Genesis), as well as the statement of Jesus himself, that men become as angels, neither marrying nor giving in marriage, we must conclude that Paul was only formulating the doctrine of the disembodied spirit—the "spiritual body" which the Jews carefully distinguished from the mere breath (*ψύχη*) and flesh (*σὰρξ*), or the "earthly" flesh and blood common to man and animals. What, then, does Paul's theory of a future life amount to after all? Nothing more or less than the common belief of all Oriental, Hellenic, and

Roman religions and philosophies—the belief in the "manes," genius, or thinking part—"divine particle," or "vital spark of heavenly flame"—dreaded, fed, and incensed by many after death at the tomb; rewarded with the "happy islands," the abodes of the blessed, or condemned to Tartarus and the flames of Phlegethon for ever and ever. And lastly, What phase did Paul's belief in the reappearance of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, assume in his systematic exposition of Roman Christianity? "The hope of Israel," the restoration of national independence, is not once mentioned in all his letters to the Romans, which cannot astonish any one familiar with the political antipathies of the Jewish and Roman people; second, he utters the plain announcement that Jesus was the anointed minister of the circumcision (Jews) only (Rom. xv. 8); third, claims to be his minister to the Gentiles (nations) of the Roman Empire; and fourth, accepts the Roman Empire as the true successor of the Jews in the kingdom of God or government of the world. But this topic brings us now to the consideration of

Paul's Historical Opinions and Political Pre-visions.—Where did Paul procure his exact historical dates of Jewish national life? The patriarchal period, which ran from Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew nation, to the age of Moses, was 430 years in length, according to Paul (Gal. iii.); and the tribal period, under the "Judges," from Moses to Samuel and Saul, the foundation of the Hebrew monarchy, was 450 years, according to Stephen (Acts iii.). Accordingly, we must conclude that the domestic and national genealogies were kept with greater exactness than the copies of the sacred book which have survived the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem. Be that as it may, the radical and revolutionary character of

Paul's reformation is based on a reversion to the simplicity of the patriarchal religion of Abraham, the "Father of the faithful, and friend of God," specially noted by Eusebius, the first Christian historian of the Church, after Luke in the Acts of the Apostles; and the whole genealogical tree of the Jewish people, embracing nineteen centuries in extent, is remorselessly cut down twenty years before the final destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in A.D. 70. Now, did Paul's rejection of his Jewish nationality imply any greater political sagacity and prudence than Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria; Josephus, the Jewish general and historian; Seneca, the Spaniard and statesman; Lucian, his nephew, the author of *Pharsalia;* Martial, and hosts of celebrated men, who spent their lives under the auspices and protection of the Roman Government? Not in the slightest degree. Philo, the philosopher, stood pre-eminent amongst the Jews in Alexandria, acted as their deputy to deprecate the erection of Caligula's statue in the Temple of Jerusalem; and his son married the daughter of King Agrippa. Josephus, the Jewish general in the war against the Romans, and the last historian of the Jews, surrendered to Vespasian and Titus, spent his life in philosophic leisure under their patronage in Rome, and left on record his own opinion—"that fortune is on all hands gone over to them, and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy" (Jos. *Wars*, lib. v. 9, 3). Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, had said, "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof" (Matt. xxi.). Could anything be more natural, prudent, or expedient for Paul himself, who was a Roman citizen of Tarsus by birth, familiar with the history of Greece and Rome,

hunted from city to city of the Roman Empire by Jewish "zealots" and bigots for thirty years, saved time after time from being torn to pieces by the Roman Government, to shake the dust from off his feet and exclaim against the Jews "contradicting and blaspheming"—"It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing you put it from you, and judge yourself unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles" (nations).

Have we, then, reached the last word of Paul, the Roman reformer, regarding the future fate and fortunes of the Roman and Jewish people? Not quite yet. Out comes a new "mystery" and final "revelation" (lest they should be wise in their own conceit). "I would not, brethren, that you should be ignorant of this mystery; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the 'fulness of the Gentiles' be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved: as it is written, There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob" (Rom. xi.). Who is this later Deliverer? Does any man dream that Paul refers to Constantine the Great, the founder of *Roma Nova*, Constantinople, at the "fulness of the Gentiles," and the formulation of the Christian creed at the Council of Nikaia (A.D. 325)? We rather think not. His language is borrowed from the Jewish prophet: "And all Israel shall be saved when the fulness of the Gentiles is come in." Were the Jews saved at the epoch of Constantine the Great? or at the destruction of Rome by the Barbarians? Have they not been scattered, peeled, tortured, and fleeced by tithe, toll, tax, and statute in every Christian nation in Europe and Britain? "Remnant"? Yes, verily, there is a "remnant"! as there is a remnant of five thousand Parsis at Bombay, a remnant of

the ancient Britons in the mountains of Wales. But what are either races now? Sharing in, and contributing to, the blessings and benefits of modern civilisation, culture, and science.

"What shall we say, then"? All we can say in conclusion is, that Paul, the Roman reformer, laid the foundation of Roman Christianity—broad and deep on the constitution of human nature—the Moral Law, distilled into the finest quintessence of "love"; faith, hope, and love, "these abiding three," and left it in the hearts of the Christian brotherhood, dowered with all the gifts and graces, rights and responsibilities, in full faith of its future dominion in the "kingdom of God" on earth. More than that we cannot say; but every Christian will be ready to concur with his own inscription on his monument more lasting than brass, in spite of all his fluctuations between the Roman and Jewish faith, hereditary traditions, religious and political aspirations:—

"Sacred to the memory of Paul, the persecutor, who made havoc of the Church, who was before a blasphemer and a persecutor and injurious, but obtained mercy because he did it ignorantly and in unbelief; also called Paul, who, although born out of due time, was not one whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles; the minister of the Anointed Jesus to the Gentiles (nations), as the Anointed Jesus was a minister to the Circumcision (Jews), for the truth of God. 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them that love his appearing.'"

But no man knows of his sepulchre to this day.

CHAPTER V.

RECAPITULATION AND REVIEW OF THE SIX EDITIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.

WHAT is Christianity? was the question started at the commencement of our investigation, and the first reply was given by Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee—the founder of Galileanism: the second by Peter and James, the defenders of Jewish Christianity: the third by the author of Oriental Christianity, according to the biography of John: the fourth by Apollos, the expositor of Alexandrian Christianity; and the fifth by Paul, the Roman reformer, the author of Roman or Cosmopolitan Christianity, the religion of universal humanity. The flaming and fiery gospel of the Apocalypse ought perhaps to take rank as a sixth, while the Romans gave birth to pure religion and morals in their own independent centre of religious distribution.

Such, then, was the actual origin and nature of the reformation of Judæa and the Roman Empire, stamped with the title of Christianity in its various centres of religious distribution in its European, Asiatic, and African environment. And these six editions form the six successive phases of its religious development.

The heart and soul of the first phase was taken from the Hebrew prophets—love to God and man—planted in the breasts of twelve and seventy disciples by Jesus the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, and lasted during the lifetime of its author, three or four years. The second

was fostered and continued under Peter, James, and John, and their successors, for thirty-seven years longer, until the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), still the "sect" of Galileans, Nazarenes, or Ebionites. The third resolved the whole religious machinery of the people into a symbol, shadow, and sacred allegory, and human life into a spiritual service and sacrifice. The fourth brought God from the mountains of Samaria and Jerusalem, transformed him into "a Spirit," the "Word" (Λόγος), reason or understanding, which lightens every man who comes into the world. The fifth converted every man and woman into a mental and moral "autonomy," or "law to himself," under the dominion of the inseparable and immortal triad of "Faith, Hope, and Love;" and the sixth, the vision of a Hebrew seer, boiling with holy indignation at the bloody and fiery baptism of the "forlorn hope" of Christianity at the burning of Rome under Nero, struck his harp with tremendous vengeance; sounded the death-knell of the Roman persecutor; burst into the song of Moses and the triumphant Lamb, the martyred Prophet, at the prospect of the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, and prepared as a bride (the symbol of the Church) for her husband—"To Him that loved us, and made us kings and priests to God and His Father."

And the very same diversities and idiosyncrasies are observable in the Lutheran, Calvinistic, Zwinglian, Anglican, and Socinian forms of modern Protestantism, which sprang into existence in the several communities of Europe, and Britain at the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Reconciliation of the diversified forms either of Christianity or Protestantism, in the common sense of that term, is out of the question. The only conciliation possible is the recognition and acceptance of the common

law of social and religious distribution, in geographical environment. Can you reconcile the tenets of Socinianism and Calvinism, Trinitarianism and Unitarianism, Divinitarianism and Humanitarianism? Decidedly not; but these doctrines are more or less identifiable with the Galilean, Nazarene, Ebionite, Alexandrian, Oriental, and Pauline Humanitarianism and Cosmopolitanism of pure, philosophical, or adulterated Christianity.

Let us look, then, a little more closely into the distinctive characteristics of the primitive forms of Christianity —(1) regarding the nature and mission of the founder, Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee; (2) the nature of the new faith itself; and (3) the future prospects of the several "sects" and parties of the Christian Church.

1. The *Founder.*—Who is Joshua (Greek, Jesus), according to the faith of the twelve and seventy disciples? The son of Joseph and Mary, the carpenter of Nazareth; the Prophet who entered the synagogue, and read from the Prophet Isaiah the Second, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears" (Luke iv.); who said, "Be not you called Rabbi (great), for one is your Master, the Anointed, and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father on earth; for one is your Father, who is in heaven" (Matt. xxiii.); who pointed to the Temple, saying, "There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down" (Matt. xxiv.); who sent out his disciples with the commission, "Verily I say unto you, you shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the 'Son of man' be come" (Matt. x.); who talked in glowing language of the reformation of Moses and Elijah to Peter, James, and John on Mount Tabor; who drew the mother of James and John, his own cousins and favourite disciples, to his feet, with the petition for

an official position for her sons in the future "kingdom;" who boasted of sending for twelve legions of angels from heaven, and died on the cross, on the charge of treason and blasphemy, with the closing prediction, "Hereafter shall you see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven" (Matt. xxvi.).

Such is the faith of his own disciples regarding the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, according to the biographies of Matthew, Mark, and Luke—the very Galileanism referred to by Josephus—"who agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions, but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord;"—and after his martyrdom made the acknowledgment, "We trusted that it had been he who should have redeemed (emancipated) Israel" (Luke xxiv.)—"Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders and signs, which *God did by him*, in the midst of you, as you yourselves know, whom God raised up, and exalted to sit on the throne of David at the right hand of God, until he make his foes his footstool."

The angelic announcement, miraculous birth, and royal genealogy are mentioned by Matthew and Luke, but not by Mark, the amanuensis of Peter, or John. But primitive Galileanism and Nazaritism were buried beneath the ruins of Solomon's Temple and old Jerusalem; thrown into the background of Jewish life, and classified as Ebionitism (poor) and heresy by later Christian historians.

The sole difference between them and the Oriental Christianity which sprang from the school of John is the spiritualistic and idealistic delineation of the Prophet's life and mission inspired by the Divine Word, wisdom, reason (λόγος), which "in all ages entering into holy souls,

makes them friends of God and prophets." Accordingly no miraculous birth was necessary.

The next time the Prophet appears on the scene, he assumes the rank of a Joshua (deliverer) of souls—a greater than Moses or angels—the Captain of salvation, and a second reformer who carried Christians into the kingdom of the heart, invested them with the regalia and insignia of kings and priests, under the "new covenant" on Mount Sion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem. Joshua the Second, however, according to Apollos, was not confounded with the God who gave him a higher appointment than Moses or the angels, as was done by the Monophysites and Monothelites of a later date; for he was appointed "heir of all things," in the very language of his Alexandrian master, Philo, the Jewish philosopher, and honoured with the flattering distinction originally bestowed on David, the royal favourite of the Jewish people. True to his Jewish Protestant prepossessions, no literal "Son of God" or miraculous conception is found in the letter to the Hebrews.

The first stage of Paul's opinions regarding the coming Prophet rested on the Rabbinical interpretations and speculations of the Jewish doctors of Jerusalem and the Book of Enoch; the second, held in common with Peter, James, and John, the pillars of the Galilean "sect" in Jerusalem, hurled flaming fire and vengeance and everlasting destruction on all his enemies, proclaimed the foundation of a glorious kingdom of the saints, with the aid of mighty angels from heaven; the third deferred his return until the occurrence of some great apostasy; the fourth calms down into a patient "waiting for the coming of our Master, the anointed Jesus; the fifth announces the resignation of his divine commission to the Father; and the

sixth reduces the Prophet to a minister of the circumcision (Jews) only, exalts himself as the minister of the Gentiles (nations), and founder of the Christian Church in the Roman Empire—in his name, and by his authority.

"Jesus our Master was a descendant of David according to the flesh, and declared to be a child of God with power according to the spirit of holiness," is Paul's own designation. Consequently, no miraculous birth is once mentioned in all his letter.

Will any rational critic undertake to reconcile the Galilean, Oriental, Alexandrian, and Roman speculations regarding the mission, rank, and return of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee? The Prophet himself died a martyr in the midst of his unfulfilled mission. His favourite disciples clung to the hope of some future fulfilment of his prophetic predictions. The lingering hope had not died away near the close of the life of John the beloved disciple, about A.D. 100, according to tradition. No necessity whatever is found for such a return by the subtle Alexandrian Apollos, and his spiritual interpretations; for old Sinai, the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, blackness, darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, the voice of words, with the law of Moses, and the Temple, has been utterly abolished, and "you *are come* unto Mount Sion, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn which are written in heaven, and to the spirits of just men made perfect." The Jewish hopes of national independence, through the medium of the re-appearance of the founder of Christianity, is never noticed in Paul's letter to the Romans; while the reign of the saints is "at hand," and shortly to come to pass, according to John, the presbyter of Ephesus, in his pictorial revelations.

We pass next to a review of the new faith, presented in the six separate editions published by Jesus and his primitive disciples.

2. What is the nature of the new faith published by Jesus and his primitive disciples? Reformation, and not ritualism, deep and thoroughgoing reformation of the whole policy and people of the Jewish nation; the restoration of the simple state of national civility under Moses and the "Judges," and regeneration (or new birth) of the whole body of the population, in childlike obedience to the moral law of love, and the recognition of the common fatherhood and brotherhood of mankind. The kingdom of God is not coming in civil state and royal splendour (outward show), neither shall they say, "Lo here! or lo there! for lo! the kingdom of God is within you;" not civil justice merely, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth:" supreme and divine goodness and generosity, like the showers and sunshine of heaven, poured out on "just and unjust, the evil and the good;" not the stately splendour of the sainted Pharisee, "Stand aside, I am holier than you!" "Make haste and come down, Zaccheus, you publican, for to-day I must abide at your house;" not the dumb dogs lying in the manger, not the wolves in sheep's clothing who sit in Moses' seat, and pass the lost sheep of Israel, torn and wounded, by the wayside: the good Samaritan who pours oil and wine into the wounded and broken hearts of the people under the reign of Sadduceic, Pharisaic, and Mosaic ritualism and traditionalism. Apart from all speculations and theories regarding the rank and dignity of the founder—that is the kingdom of God, the reign of divine love and benevolence—the heart and soul of the moral and social law proclaimed by Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee,

during the course of his short-lived mission for three years only in the land of Judæa.

3. As well as by Peter, James, and John after his martyrdom: "Forasmuch then as God's anointed has suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the *same mind*" (1 Peter iv.). "If you fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, you do well" (James ii.). "Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loves is *born of God*, and *knows* God. He that loves not knows not God; for God is love" (1 John iv.).

Chapter after chapter might be written on the mental, moral, and religious personality, occupation, education, temperament, natural and acquired, idiosyncrasies and characteristics of Jesus and his favourite disciples. Our libraries are full of critical works devoted to their dissection and analysis; and all the world can easily detect the literary and moral tints and taints peculiar to the mental media of the several authors. The biography of Matthew was published in Hebrew, translated into Greek and Latin, interpolated, adapted, and edited by the later fathers, with additions and fictitious genealogies, miraculous conception, and borrowed by Luke for his own introduction. No such anti-Jewish "corruptions" and emendations are found in the lives of Mark, the amanuensis of Peter, or the spiritualistic exposition of John. Must we credit implicitly the mystic and universal ideals of the young Prophet at the commencement of his Galilean career, "Be you perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect," as well as the glowing Orientalism and stunted fanaticism of the long and dying speeches, "I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me,

for they are thine"? For our part we prefer to ascribe his "last words" to the blended Hebraism, Alexandrianism, and Orientalism of the school of John at Ephesus, a full century after the martyrdom of the Prophet.

The stock phrases of the poets and prophets still ring in the ears of Galilean Peter, the Jewish Christian and precipitate mountaineer: "Be you holy, for I am holy; and if you call on the Father, who, without respect of persons, judges according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear." Accordingly whole floods—fire and brimstone, from the age of Noah, Lot, Sodom and Gomorrah, bury the foes of his Master in everlasting destruction.

"Go to now, you rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come on you. If there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and you have respect to him that wears the gay clothing, and say to him, Sit you here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand you here, or sit here under my footstool: are you not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?"—is the genuine style of James, whether cousin or brother of the Prophet, we know not —the Palestinian Swiss and revolutionist. "You believe there is one God. You do well. The devils believe and tremble. Do you know, you vain soul, that faith without works is dead?"

"Master, is it your will that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume the Samaritans, as Elijah did?" was the thundering spirit of "Boanerges," the beloved disciple, at the outset of his career, subdued and chastened, however, till at length it breathed the mild and childlike accents of the "old man eloquent": "Little

children, love one another, and keep yourselves from idols."

4. Reformation without Ritualism—the complete conversion of every Christian into a "living temple"—the shrine and altar of the Holy (*heilig*) Spirit, a "kingdom which cannot be moved," is pre-eminently the faith of Alexandrian Christianity—faith in "God that is," and is "the rewarder of them that diligently seek him"—the simple faith of the Hebrew patriarchs, from Abel to Saul and David, and the prophets, the stalwart heroes of the Hebrew people. Hence the sole commandments and counsels of Apollos are, "Let brotherly love (φιλαδελφία) continue. To do good and communicate, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased." Our philosophical editor of Alexandrian Christianity knows nothing of angelic announcements and immaculate conceptions, any more than of "Papal Infallibility." They were Roman "accretions," well-meant "honours," borrowed from the "old wives' fables," which Paul warned his followers to avoid, but totally misspent on the founder of a new faith.

5. Can any rational critic doubt the tone and tendencies of the Cosmopolitan faith of Paul, the Roman reformer? We mean, of course, in this place, irrespective and independent of all Jewish speculations regarding the mission and rank of the founder. Scarcely, we presume. Can any critical student of his letters doubt the total abolition of the law of Moses—temple ritual, sacrifices, and Sabbaths—as well as of European, Asiatic, and African Polytheism, summed up in "one word love" as the universal law of human nature, for his Roman and Christian disciples? At his earliest stage (letter to the Thessalonians) his moral theism and theology are unmistakable:

"As touching brotherly love, you need not that I write to you; for you yourselves are *taught of God* to love one another." In his mid career issued from his glowing soul the impassioned description of Christian love: "Love suffers long, seeks not her own, thinks no evil; bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things." "Love is the bond of perfection," meets us later. And "the breadth and length, and depth and height" of Paul's "faith, hope, and love," "filled with all the fulness of God," is summed up in his closing prayer to the Roman Christians: "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a *living sacrifice*, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service."

Reformation without ritualism—reformation glowing with fervid and unconquerable love, adaptable and accommodated to all races, ranks, and religions of mankind, which made itself "all things to all men"—was the peculiar product of the cosmopolitan soul and spirit of Paul, the Roman reformer.

6. Who can fathom the mystic apocalyptic and vengeful Christianity of John, the fiery presbyter of Ephesus? All the Hebrew seers, poets, and prophets would seem to have taken possession of his susceptible soul, and borne him off in holy rage and rapture against the Neronian persecution of his fellow-Christians and brethren. Ought he not to have prayed for them who used him and them despitefully? Can we vindicate or justify his destructive criticism and announcement of retribution on his Roman opponents or not? Yes or no? To the Christian seer's eye Rome was Sodom and Gomorrah—Egypt, Babylon the Great, and all the oppressors of "just men"—the people of God anywhere and everywhere—"spiritually," *i.e.* in living reality and

experience. Could Rome, then—the living, crushing, and despotic power which opposed and exalted itself against the progress of the new faith—the very social and political "Antichrist"—escape the doom of her national predecessors? Decidedly not. Hence the Christian prophet pronounces a long series of judgments and verdicts on the seven-hilled city, and all the Roman civil and religious institutions. Can we vindicate the tone and spirit of retribution, we say?—"Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and you holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her. And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great mill-stone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all." Yes or no? Casuists everywhere still quibble over the moot point. Meanwhile, who does rejoice over the "glorious Revolution" of 1688 in Great Britain? Who does rejoice at the "French Revolution," and the destruction of the tyrannic *ancien régime* of the French nobility, loaded with the responsibility of the Bartholomew massacre?—Radical, liberal, and conservative Protestants of every shade of political and religious opinions. At the same time we are not called on to revel in the ferocious passions of religious and national crusades and hostilities—the frenzied yet temporary and transient moods of social life. And if no tear moisten the eye, no thrill of tender pity over the dying pangs and death-throes of a dying nation move the soul of the seer, let us not forget that he was only a man "of like passions with ourselves," and in all probability stood a horrified spectator of the burning of Rome under Nero, and the subsequent burnt-offering of Christian men and women—his nearest and dearest friends, and fellow-worshippers

of a new and ardent faith. Peace be to their ashes! Christians and Romans alike lie deep and quiet beneath the popular streets of modern Rome, and side by side in the catacombs and Appian way.

Reformation without Ritualism, according to their own hearts at any rate, they found in the arms and association of the Christian brotherhood—the spirits of "just men" made perfect through suffering, who met with a "kiss" of peace on the first Sabbath after that terrible spectacle. "Behold, the tabernacle (tent) of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away."

Who can throw a stone at Christians who followed the footsteps of Moses, Miriam, and Aaron on the shores of the Red Sea, and burst out into the Song of Moses and the triumphant Lamb over their friends who were sacrificed to propitiate the frenzy of the Romans, standing like blackened shades in the midst of their ruined city? R. I. P. Let them rest in peace!

What are the future fortunes of the new faith according to the founder himself? Our reply to this question, of course, depends in the first place on the separate narratives of his life edited by his four biographers; and their narratives tally in the leading features in the biographies of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, while John is silent on the subject. One thing is evident to all critics—the whole panorama of the future fortunes of the kingdom of God is depicted in the language of the Hebrew poets and prophets—Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Book of

Enoch—the poetic and ideal "hope of Israel"—floating before the fevered and frenzied imagination of the people on the eve of national dissolution. On this point Josephus, the latest historian of the Jews, ought to be studied in ample confirmation of the fantastic and visionary character of the popular sentiment up to the very siege and burning of Jerusalem. The following passage gives a fair summary of the poetic and allegorical ideals wrapt in thick clouds and veils of glowing imagery which formed the "hope of Israel" in the times of Paul and Jesus. "The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, and then shall appear the sign of the 'Son of man' in heaven, and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the 'Son of man' coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his 'elect' from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other" (Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi.). Let no critic dream of stripping the real from the ideal, and reducing these poetic illusions to plain prose and sober fact. What man or woman on the face of the earth lives without their illusions or delusions? Are they not divine creations calculated to exalt the soul beyond the reach of the common battlefields, crosses, and crowns of thorns which subdue, purify, and prepare the mind for the paths of philanthropy, pathos, pity, love, mercy, sacrifice, and heroism? "Where is the promise of his coming?" cried the Jewish sceptics when Peter sent off his consolatory letter to the "strangers scattered through the East," with the warning ringing in their ears, "The end of all things is at hand. Seeing then that all

these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought you to be in all holy conversation and godliness? Looking for and hasting to the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens, being on fire, shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat."

"Be patient, brethren, unto the coming of the Master: stablish your hearts, for the coming of the Master draweth nigh," was the solemn and pious tone of "James the Just," the brother or cousin of the Prophet.

The silence of John, or rather his disciples at Ephesus, regarding the future hopes of the Galileans, is somewhat startling. Did Matthew and Mark, the amanuensis of Peter, put the popular opinions of the Jews into the mouth of their Master? Did Luke rely on their reports? And did the school of John finally reject the rabbinical speculations of the Jewish doctors? We cannot tell. Anyhow the only kingdom founded by the Prophet was the kingdom of truth (John xviii.).

The Alexandrians had met with the fulfilment of all their hopes in the assembly of "just men" made perfect, under the peaceful rule of the Roman government, and the quiet study of the *Septuagint* and sacred rolls in their splendid museum. That very kingdom which could not be shaken, referred to by his beloved brother Apollos, was attained also by Paul, the Roman reformer, in his Christian brotherhood, placed under the law of love, and the social and moral code prescribed for their practical guidance in everyday life. Hence he cut off the Jews, and all their patriotic hopes of national independence, and enrolled himself as a perpetual citizen in the land of his adoption, the Roman Empire—"the holy Roman Empire," under Christian auspices.

Who could possibly reconcile the successive opinions of

the editors of the lives and letters of the reformers of ancient Judaism regarding the future fate and fortunes of their own faith? Martyrdom overtook the founder in the midst of his reforming career; but his immediate disciples still cherished the political hopes of their fellow-countrymen. So did Paul, at the outset of his reformation; but they vanished step by step during the course of thirty years, and we are inclined to think, with the aid of the subtle philosophy, of his beloved brother Apollos of Alexandria. Be that as it may, the mystic seer of the Apocalypse, a thoroughgoing revolutionary Galilean, either in his "mind's eye" or in the brotherhood of his fellow-worshippers, saw the "tabernacle (tent) of God," the return of the primitive state after the emancipation from Egyptian slavery, the spiritual restoration of the kingdom of God amongst men.

But what are the actual fortunes of the Christian faith and brotherhood? in a word, what is the real history and development of the Christian Church? That is the next question which requires an answer at our hands. Accordingly we pass now to the state of the Church under the *régime* of the Eastern and Western Fathers, and the unquestionable influence which the six editions of Christianity exerted on the new faith of the Roman Empire.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFORMATION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE—*continued.*

"One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all."—EPH. IV.

WE have seen that the Roman reformation under Cicero, Lucretius, and Seneca—in fact the representatives of Roman genius in the Augustan age—formed an independent centre of religious distribution; and we now intend at this stage to adduce the lives and opinions of Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Lucian, and Celsus, for the purpose of showing that it was continued on an independent footing, until the epoch of the earliest Christian "fathers," apologists, defenders, and expositors of Christianity.

EPICTETUS.

The first of these representatives of Roman genius and contemporaries of Paul, the Roman reformer, who has lately risen in a triple constellation, in the company of Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius, on our British horizon (Archdeacon Farrar's *Seekers after God*), was Epictetus, a Phrygian slave belonging to Epaphroditus, the courtier of Nero. Somehow or other, the lame slave was allowed to attend the lectures of Rufus, a Stoic philosopher in

Rome; and the born moralist, after the death of his patron and expulsion of the philosophers from Rome by Domitian (A.D. 89), obtained his freedom, opened a school of philosophy at Nicopolis in Epirus, and taught till the verge of old age. The very time of his death is unknown; but Arrian, the historian of Alexander the Great, collected his discourses and *Encheiridion* (Manual), "in his own words as nearly as possible," delivered without preparation, in eight volumes, four only of which, with a few fragments, have been preserved. His versatility and volubility must have been something extraordinary; and Arrian's notes of his colloquial style sufficiently prove that "he had no other purpose than to move the minds of his hearers to the best things." His works certainly are a treasure of Roman morals, sound common-sense, and duty; and, as the "Galileans" were only known to him on account of their despair and "madness," in raising the insurrection which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman armies, we have no reason to suppose that he was acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity. His leading opinions will fall under our preceding fourfold division.

1. *Nature; or, the Physical Government of the Universe.* —The whole universe (*Natura Rerum*) fell within the scope of the Greek and Roman philosophers. Scientific differentiation had not yet taken place, and every one selected his own field of investigation. Pliny took natural philosophy; Strabo, physical and political geography. But Epictetus was a born moralist, and paid little or no attention to the fantastic speculations of the rudimentary physics of Greece and Rome. "What do I care whether all things are composed of atoms or of similar parts, or of fire and earth? for is it not enough to know the nature of the good and the evil, and the measures of the desires and

aversions, and also the movements towards things and from them; and using these as rules to administer the affairs of life, but not to trouble ourselves about the things above us?"

That was the short and easy method of dealing with the physical theories of the world, which formed the common topic of philosophical discussion adopted by the Stoic moralists and theologians. Who, in fact, did care for the old Hellenic cosmogonies and theogonies of Hesiod—the God and world-makers condemned by the later Greek philosophers? Plato himself would not tolerate the divine improprieties of Homer, the Bible of Greece, in common schools; and the immortal poem of Lucretius had already proved that the laws of nature were perfectly capable of performing the duties of the birth, life, death, and reproduction of universal phenomena without a *Deus ex machinâ*—the miraculous intervention of the immortal gods. "What is human life according to the law of nature?" was the only question which interested the Stoic philosopher.

Human Nature; Personal, Domestic, and Political Government.—Here we meet with the notes, at least, of the lectures delivered during the course of a long life, on all the common topics of philosophical discussion—the mental, moral, theological, and political science of the day, with the ordinary comments and casuistry on the laws of life; the struggle with circumstances, natural affection, contentment, providence, constancy, courage, tranquillity, magnanimity, goodness, anxiety, friendship, sickness, purity, dress, etc. First, then, what is the nature of the human soul, according to Epictetus? "You are a portion separated from the Deity; you have in yourself a certain portion of him. Why, then, are you ignorant of your own noble descent? Why do you not know whence you

came? When you are in social intercourse, when you are exercising yourself, when you are engaged in discussion, know you not that you are nourishing a God, that you are exercising a God? Wretch, you are carrying about a God with you, and you know it not. Do you think that I mean some god of silver or of gold, and external? You carry him within yourself, and you perceive not that you are polluting him by impure thoughts and dirty deeds. And if an image of God were present, you would not dare to do any of the things which you are doing; but when God himself is present within, and sees all and hears all, you are not ashamed of thinking such things and doing such things, ignorant as you are of your own nature, and subject to the anger of God" (p. 119). Satisfactory doctrine to any contemporary Jewish Christian.

Again, "If a man should be able to assent to this doctrine, as he ought, that we are all sprung from God, in an especial manner, and that God is the father both of men and of gods, I suppose that he would never have any ignoble or mean thoughts about himself. But if Cæsar (the emperor) should adopt you, no one could endure your annoyance; and if you know that you are the son of Zeus, will you not be elated? Yet we do not so; but since these two things are mingled in the generation of man, body in common with the animals, and reason and intelligence in common with the gods, many incline to this kinship, which is miserable and mortal, and some few to that which is divine and happy" (p. 12). The very doctrine of the body and soul, flesh and spirit, the higher and lower soul, which renders man a "law to himself."

"Stay, wretch, do not be carried away. Great is the combat, divine is the work; it is for kingship, for freedom, for happiness—for freedom from perturbation.

Remember God; call on him as a helper and protector, as men at sea call on Castor and Pollux in a storm. For what is a greater storm than that which comes from appearances which are violent, and drive away the reason?"—shouts Epictetus to all his disciples who are threatened with shipwreck on the sea of life (p. 161). And he was not the first to select some favourite hero or philosopher as an ideal to follow in everyday life: "Immediately prescribe some character and some form to yourself which you shall observe, both when you are alone and when you meet with men" (p. 394).

Such were the steps which Epictetus took in rising from Human Nature, and the mysterious soul and intelligence of our constitution, to his "Maker, Father, and Guardian" —the divine sonship of universal humanity, claimed, on the authority of the hymn of Cleanthes ("We are his offspring") by Paul at Athens for all mankind made of one blood on the face of the earth.

God; or, the Nature and Character of Deity and Divine Government.—Did Epictetus renounce the hereditary faith of Hellenic and Roman Polytheism? is a question which is more easily put than answered; but we are inclined to concur with the opinions of his admiring translator, Mr. Long, that the evidence preponderates in favour of his moral Theism—"that we are all sprung from God." Be that as it may, the very same arguments in favour of the existence and attributes of God are employed by Epictetus in his lectures on *Divine Providence,* as in Cicero's *Nature of the Gods,* and in modern natural theology. "God has introduced man to be a spectator of God and of his works; and not only a spectator of them, but an interpreter." For this reason it is shameful for a man to begin and to end where irrational animals

do; but rather, he ought to begin where they begin, and to end where nature ends in us: and nature ends in contemplation and understanding, and in a way of life conformable to nature" (p. 21).

What, then, is the divine nature and character, according to our Stoic interpreter? "From everything which is or happens in the world, it is easy to praise Providence if a man possesses these two qualities—the faculty of seeing what belongs and happens to all persons and things, and a grateful disposition" (p. 19). It is easy to praise Providence if you have a grateful disposition. Hence his contentment and tranquillity of mind in the conduct of life, sickness, and death itself. "I wish to be found practising these things, that I may be able to say to God, Have I in any respect transgressed your commands? Have I in any respect wrongfully used the powers you gave me? Have I misused my perceptions, or my preconceptions? Have I ever blamed you? Have I ever found fault with your administration? I have been sick, because it was your will, and so have others, but I was content to be sick. I have been poor, because it was your will, but I was content also. I have not filled a magisterial office; because it was not your pleasure that I should, I have never desired it. Have you ever seen me for this reason discontented? Have I not always approached you with a cheerful countenance, ready to do your commands, and to obey your signals? Is it now your will that I should depart from this assemblage of men? I depart. I give you all thanks that you have allowed me to join in this your assemblage of men, and to see your works, and to comprehend this your administration. May death surprise me while I am thinking of these things, while I am thus writing and reading" (p. 209). "If indeed they do exist and look after

things, still if there is nothing communicated from them to men, nor in fact to myself, how, even so, is it right to follow them? The wise and good man, then, after considering all these things, submits his own mind to *him* who administers the whole, as good citizens do the law of the state. He who is receiving instruction ought to come to be instructed with this intention: How shall I follow the gods in all things, how shall I be contented with the divine administrations, and how can I become free?" (p. 42). Follower of God, divine fellowship and communion (*κοινωνία*)? one asks in surprise. Yes, "Let any of you show me a human soul ready to think as God does, and not to blame either God or man, ready not to be disappointed about anything, not to consider himself damaged by anything, not to be angry, not to be envious, not to be jealous, and—why should I not say it direct?—desirous, from a man, to become a God, and in this poor mortal body, thinking of his fellowship with Zeus." That lively, lame Greek "lover of wisdom" is the finest fellow in the world—the fellow of John, the beloved disciple, when he says, "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that you also may have fellowship with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father." He will not even allow the existence of evil, "As a mark is not set up for the purpose of missing the aim, so neither does the nature of evil exist in the world" (p. 390). An outright Stoic optimist! with "a mind naturally Christian," as the "fathers" said. And he, too, like the founder of Galileanism, and his followers the Jewish Christians, conformed to the "customs of his fathers," and the national mode of worship: "To make libations, and to sacrifice and to offer firstfruits according to the custom of our fathers, purely and not meanly, nor carelessly nor

scantily, nor above our ability, is a thing which belongs to all to do" (p. 393).

Future Life.—"But now it is time to die. Why do you say to die? Make no tragedy show of the matter (of the body) to be resolved into the things out of which it was composed" (p. 347), runs on Epictetus in his lecture on *Freedom from Fear.* "Go whither? To nothing terrible, but to the place from which you came, to your friends and kinsmen, to the elements; what there was in you of fire goes to fire, of earth to earth, of air (spirit) to air, of water to water; no Hades, nor Acheron, nor Cocytus, nor Pyriphlegethon, but all is full of gods and demons" (p. 230). Where has the good old soul, who preached faith in the "Father of all men"—peace, patience, contentment, and tranquillity of mind—gone to? To the place from which he came—to his friends and kinsmen—full of gods and demons, celestial geniuses, the home of the soul, according to Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* and Seneca's *Consolation.* Are you any wiser?

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 121-180).

Our next representative of Roman genius is a royal soul, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the only philosopher who sat on the throne of the Roman Empire, and in all probability he would have taken rank as one of the good emperors, along with Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus, his uncle, if he had not left his remarkable *Contemplations* behind him. Adopted as he was by his uncle, Antoninus "Pius," as his son and successor, the imperial pupil was placed under the first teachers of the day in law, poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy. And the heir of the purple actually assumed the coarse garb of the Stoic philosopher and temperate

habits of life at eleven years of age. Rusticus, the Stoic philosopher, indeed, was retained as his adviser after he became emperor; but we need not detail either the list of his teachers nor his acquirements, candidly acknowledged in his first book. Lucius Verus, a Roman voluptuary, the other adopted son of his uncle, shared the imperial government with Marcus for eight years; but the whole administration of the Empire, from Britain to Babylon, was laid on his own shoulders during the last ten years of his life. Parthian, Syrian, and German wars occurred during his philosophic reign, but the patriotic attempt to drive our Saxon ancestors—the future conquerors of Western Europe and Britain—beyond the Danube was fatal to M. Antoninus, for he died during the last campaign at Sirmium, in Lower Pannonia, A.D. 180, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and ascended to heaven as a "god" in the popular estimation, according to the imperial customs of the age. Strange irony of Roman fate, the statue of St. Paul, the Roman reformer, now stands on the capital of the column raised to his memory by his son Commodus, in the Piazza Colonna at Rome.

Still more interesting than the earliest efforts of our barbarian Saxon ancestors to claim the future settlements promised in the Book of Fate were the first Apologies or Defences of Christianity addressed by Tatian, Athenagoras, Melito, and Justinus the Martyr to Marcus and his uncle, Antoninus Pius. But, of course, we cannot affirm that they were read by either of them; and they will come before us at a later date. Open collision between the old and new faith had taken place at various dates since the first repression of the Christians under Nero; and special orders had been sent by Trajan to Pliny, the prefect of Bithynia, at his own request, regarding their treatment. Consequently we are inclined, in the absence of reliable

evidence, to believe that Polycarp of Smyrna and the martyrs of Lyons were put to death in accordance with the legal "precedents" of his predecessors. So far as the story of the "Thundering Legion" is concerned, all authorities are agreed that the title existed in the days of Augustus, and that both Romans and Christians claimed the showers of rain, accompanied by lightning, hail, and thunder, which saved their armies from perishing with thirst, in answer to their prayers. But, without dwelling further on the life and policy of the Stoic emperor, we shall now proceed with our brief *résumé* of his religious and ethical opinions. Strange to say, the Christians, notorious for their "obstinacy," are only once mentioned, and no notice taken of their peculiar doctrines.

Nature; or, the Physical Government of the Universe.—Special mention is made of his gratitude to his tutor, Rusticus, for introducing him to a knowledge of the discourses of Epictetus; and, although M. Antoninus shows his familiarity with Hellenic and Roman literature, we may safely say that his "Thoughts" and opinions were moulded to a great extent by the chatty and lively philosophy of the Stoic optimist. Now and again we find a few notes of his speculations regarding the laws of the physical universe, but it is the beauty, unity, uniformity, and continuity of nature styled order (κόσμος) by the Greeks which claimed his special admiration.

"Constantly regard the universe as one living being, having one substance and one soul; and observe how all things have reference to one perception, the perception of this one living being, and how all things act with one movement, and how all things are the co-operating causes of all things which exist: observe too the continuous spinning of the thread and the contexture of the web" (p. 102).

Again, "Whether the universe is a concourse of atoms or nature is a system, let this first be established, that I am a part of the whole which is governed by nature: I am in a manner intimately related to the parts which are of the same kind with myself. For remembering this, inasmuch as I am a part I shall be discontented with none of the things which are assigned to me out of the whole; for nothing is injurious to the part if it is for the advantage of the whole. Yet the whole contains nothing which is not for its advantage. And all natures, indeed, have this common principle, but the nature of the universe has this principle besides, that it cannot be compelled even by any external cause to generate anything harmful to itself. By remembering, then, that I am a part of such a whole, I shall be content with everything that happens. And inasmuch as I am in a manner intimately related to the parts which are of the same kind with myself, I shall do nothing unsocial, but I shall rather direct myself to the things which are of the same kind with myself, and I shall turn all my efforts to the common interests, and divert them from the contrary. Now, if these things are done so, life must flow on happily, just as you may observe that the life of a citizen is happy who continues a course of action which is advantageous to his fellow-citizens, and is content with whatever the State may assign to him" (p. 172).

Here we have the complete statement of his theory of the physical and moral government of the universe, and the happiness and contentment resulting from duties performed for the "common interest," practically identical with the Roman Christianity of Paul, the Roman reformer,—with the exception that there is nothing "harmful" in the whole world of Marcus Antoninus.

"The nature of the All moved to make the universe.

But now either everything that takes place comes by way of consequence or continuity; or even the chief things towards which the ruling power of the universe directs its own movement, are governed by no rational principle. If this is remembered, it will make thee more tranquil in many things" (p. 143). Our royal preacher draws a practical moral at every step in his meditations, and his physical generalisations are worthy of a modern scientist.

Human Nature; or, Personal, Domestic, and Political Government.—What is the true nature of the human constitution? formed the common topic of his physical and psychological researches, and his speculations, too, are tainted with the Oriental notion of the degradation of the human soul, by imprisonment in a mortal and fleshly body. He has no doubt whatever that every man's understanding and reason is the Deity within him—a portion of himself, the "Daimon" which Zeus gives to every man for his guardian and guide. "Whatever this is that I am, it is a little flesh and breath, and the ruling part. Throw away thy books; no longer distract thyself: it is not allowed; but as if thou wast now dying, despise the flesh: it is blood and bones, and a network, a contexture of nerves, veins, and arteries. See the breath also, what kind of a thing it is—air, and not always the same, but every moment sent out and again sucked in. The third, then, is the ruling part; consider thus: thou art an old man: no longer let this be a slave, no longer be pulled by the strings like a puppet to unsocial movements, no longer be either dissatisfied with thy present lot, or shrink from the future" (p. 78).

The very same flesh, breath, and the ruling part—the animal, human, and divine powers, passions, and properties, which form a human constitution and polity, according to Paul as well as Plato—are recognised by

M. Antoninus, and the royal legislation for his own "self-government" is worthy of all acceptation.

"Every moment think steadily as a Roman and a man, to do what thou hast in hand with perfect and simple dignity and feeling of affection, and freedom, and justice, and to give thyself relief from all other thoughts. And thou wilt give thyself relief, if thou doest every act as if it were the last, laying aside all carelessness and passionate aversion from the commands of reason, and all hypocrisy and self-love, and discontent with the posture which has been given to thee. Thou seest how few the things are, the which if a man lays hold of, he is able to live a life which flows on quiet, and is like the existence of the gods: for the gods on their part will require nothing more from him who observes these things" (p. 79).

"What is the true nature of a political constitution?" was also a question which must have engaged his attention from the date of his earliest studies in Roman jurisprudence, under his tutor Maecianus; and his logical conclusions rest on the best authorities—Aristotle's *Politics*, Cicero's *Republic* and *Laws*, as well as on the most distinguished jurists and philosophers of Rome.

"If our intellectual part is common, the reason also in respect of which we are rational beings is common: if this is so, common also is the reason which commands us what to do, and what not to do: if this is so, there is a common law also: if this is so, we are fellow-citizens: if this is so, we are members of some political community: if this is so, the world is in a manner a state. For of what other common political community will any one say that the whole human race are members?" (p. 95). Here we see the very steps which raised the minds of the Roman people to the recognition of the "common citizenship"—

cosmopolitanism and common divine fatherhood—the paternal government of the universe. And the candid soul of M. Aurelius notes down his debt of gratitude to his teachers of these elevating and ennobling principles. "From my brother Severus, to love my kin, and to love truth, and to love justice; and through him I learned to know Thrasea, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, Brutus; and from him I received the idea of a polity in which there is the same law for all; a polity administered with regard to equal rights and equal freedom of speech, and the idea of a kingly government which respects most of all the freedom of the governed."

But we are only learning to extend political and religious equality to our Christian citizens.

God; or, the Nature and Character of the Deity and Divine Government.—What are the evidences of the divine existence, nature, and character, according to the natural theology of our royal preacher of the Roman Empire?

"To those who ask, Where hast thou seen the gods, or how dost thou comprehend that they exist, and so worshippest them? I answer, in the first place, they may be seen even with the eyes; in the second place, neither have I seen even my own soul, and yet I honour it. Thus, then, with respect to the gods, from what I constantly experience of their power, from this I comprehend that they exist, and I venerate them" (p. 203). There you have in a nut-shell the sum and substance of the argument in favour of divine veneration, honour, and worship offered in endless forms by the complete family of mankind, made of one blood on the face of the earth—"the experience of divine power." But the latest revelation and interpretation of the volume of nature only tends to enhance the sentiments of admiration and reverence which

lie deeper in the heart of universal humanity. All pyrrhonism and pessimism are only transient moods and phases of social educational development. Who could undertake to fathom the depths of the "feeling of dependence," the congenital and even unconscious faith in God, who "gives seed-time and harvest and fruitful seasons" —the stable unity and uniformity of nature—the God of order and not confusion, exhibited in daily and occasional prayer? "A prayer of the Athenians: Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, down on the ploughed fields of the Athenians, and on the plains. In truth we ought not to pray at all, or we ought to pray in this simple and noble fashion" (p. 108).

Do royal souls mount on the pinions of genius, and scan the laws of universal truth and knowledge? "God is in heaven and you are on earth, therefore let your words be few," was the counsel of the Royal Preacher in Jerusalem. "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity and vexation of spirit," was the passionate cry of the Jewish king at the close of his satirical survey of human life: "Fear God, and keep his commandments, for that is the whole duty of man."

"Soon, very soon, thou wilt be ashes or a skeleton, and either a name or not even a name; but name is sound and echo. And the things which are much valued in life are empty, and rotten, and trifling, and like little dogs biting one another, and little children quarrelling, laughing, and then straightway weeping. But fidelity, and modesty, and justice, and truth are fled

'Up to Olympus from the widespread earth.'—(Hesiod).

What, then, is there which still detains thee here? if the objects of sense are easily changed, and never stand

still, and the organs of perception are dull, and easily receive false impressions, and the poor soul itself is an exhalation from the blood. But to have good repute amidst such a world as this is an empty thing. Why, then, dost thou not wait in tranquillity for thy end, whether it is extinction or removal to another state? And until that time comes, what is sufficient? Why, what else than to venerate the gods and bless them, and do good to man, and to practise tolerance and self-government; but as to everything which is beyond the limits of the poor flesh and breath, to remember that this is neither thine nor in thy power" (p. 116), was the dignified, considerate, and benevolent moral of the royal preacher of the Roman Empire. Pure Agnosticism.

"Love God, and your neighbour as yourself; on these hang all the law and the prophets" of Judæa, said the Son of David according to the flesh. "Follow God, love mankind" (p. 136), summed up the religion of M. Antoninus, the Roman lover of wisdom. Was the "spirit of the age," then, really embodied in these representative men of the Roman Empire? or did they inspire their followers with a purer faith in proportion to "the measure of the gift" of divine genius imparted to them by the common "Father of all men"?—are questions which must be answered according to the standpoint of every reader.

Future Life.—Lastly, what is the future fate and destiny of the human soul, according to M. Antoninus? The veriest scraps only of the controversial discussions on a future state, which must have been carried on with his philosophical friends, are met with in his *Memorabilia.* Time after time we can hear him thinking aloud in his leisure moments on the periodic cycles of Oriental conflagrations and restorations of the world, after a perusal

of the Ionic philosophy and the multifarious and profound speculations of Plato, on the banks of the Danube.

"If souls continue to exist, how does the air contain them from eternity? But how does the earth contain the bodies of those who have been buried from time so remote? For us here the mutation of these bodies after a certain continuance, whatever it may be, and their dissolution, make room for other dead bodies: so the souls which are removed into the air, after subsisting for some time, are transmuted and diffused, and assume a fiery nature by being received into the seminal intelligence of the universe, and in this way make room for the fresh souls which come to dwell there. And this is the answer which a man might give on the hypothesis of souls continuing to exist" (p. 98).

No light here. "The universe is transformation. Life is opinion." "Death is such as generation is, a mystery of nature: a composition out of the same elements, and a decomposition into the same: and altogether not a thing of which any man should be ashamed, for it is not contrary to the nature of a reasonable animal, not contrary to the reason of our constitution." "What a soul that is which is ready, if at any moment it must be separated from the body, and ready either to be extinguished, or dispersed, or continue to exist; but so that this readiness come from a man's own judgment, not from mere obstinacy, as with Christians, but considerately and with dignity, and in a way to persuade another, without tragic show" (p. 186). Who could transcend the child-like submission of the royal agnostic who has carried off the crown in the arena of human life, as his reward in the "art of goodness," ready to receive future life or annihilation at the nod and will of his Almighty Creator?

Lucian (A.D. 117-180).

One of the last, but not the least, of the products of Roman civilisation who embodied the spirit of the age characteristic of ripe and mellow Latindom, was *Lucian*, the offspring of the genial clime, on the western banks of the Euphrates, Samosata, who started on the career of a sculptor with his uncle, but ultimately entered the ranks of the rhetoricians or advocates: devoted the earlier portion of his life to the practice of his profession from Gaul to Babylon, during the reigns of Hadrian, the Antonines, and Commodus, and gave birth to a voluminous series of essays and dialogues which combine the subtlety, versatility, geniality, and breadth of the cosmopolitan critic, satirist, humorist, philosopher, theologian, and moralist, in a single soul, saturated with the sentiment of modern Humanism, the rollicking humour of Aristophanes, the novelistic fabrications of Boccaccio, the caustic satire of an Erasmus, a Cervantes, a Rabelais, or a Swift, and the revolutionary discussions of a European encyclopædist. Witness his candid manifesto, in the *Angler, or Resuscitated Philosopher*: "I am the declared enemy of all false pretence, all quackery, all lies, and all puffing, and hate, from the bottom of my heart, all and every one who belongs to that infamous tribe, including a mighty host, as you know full well."

The very fact that Lucian was the contemporary of M. Antoninus and the earliest apologists and defenders of the faith, betrays the great progress of the popular opposition directed against the social and religious systems of the Roman Empire, and the struggle of existence waged between the supporters of the old and new faith. No mention indeed is made of any conspicuous author on the side of the new religion, but the allusion made in the *Life's*

End of Peregrinus to the second Socrates, the famous Magus, crucified in Palestine for having introduced novel mysteries into the world, who died like Heracles, the son of God; and the severe satire upon voluntary martyrdom, accompanying the delineation of the popular sect, at least reveals the opinions entertained by the *literati* of the age, who nominally adhered, like Erasmus, to the old faith of the Roman people, and lashed the follies of the monks and the corruptions of the age in his witty and elegant *Adages, Colloquies, and Praise of Folly.*

No surprise can be excited in the mind of any student familiar with Homer and Virgil that Lucian should have flung the doors of heaven wide open to the gaze of mortal eyes, and heaped all his ridicule upon the "Lie-Fancier," the Council of the gods—Jupiter Tragœdus, Divine conversation, Charon, Conferences of the dead, and Sacrifices. Surely the old faith had come to a terrible pass when old Jove, who had dethroned his father Saturn, tragically laments in the prose drama: "Dear wife, the concerns of the gods are come to extremities, and, according to the proverb, it stands upon the edge of a razor whether we are any longer to be acknowledged and adored on earth as gods, or neglected by all the world, and accounted for nothing"—when, too, a member of the Olympian Senate lodges the complaint, that "in Crete they say what is still worse, they even show your tomb!"—when the priesthood are twitted with their inveterate love of old wives' fables beyond the grave: "How, Teresias, do you still preserve your old attachment to these lies?" in that, however, you only act like other prophets: it is the general practice with you to say nothing to the purpose when sacrifices are declared not to be wanted by the dying gods. And the "Syrian goddess" was thrown into

a deadly sweat and shudder, premonitory of the incipient dotage of effete and superannuate Orientalism.

The philosophers of Greece and Rome fare no better at the hands of the universal analyst of opinion and social microscopist, who detected, exposed, and sold by public auction the incompetent religious directors of souls and teachers of human and divine wisdom, in his witty and humorous *Sale of Philosophical Sects.*

Bold and daring as the philosophical satirist was in rejecting the ancient and accredited sages of wisdom and masters in religion, the moralist furnished a solid and substantial substitute in the human sympathies and social affections, cherished alike by the child of nature and civilisation, in *Toxaris, or the Friends,* in which a Scythian and Athenian enter the lists of patriotic and chivalrous competition in favour of instinctive barbaric, or polished and conventional "friendship or philanthropy."

No doubt whatever can be entertained regarding the "last word" of literate and liberal Latinism, the everlasting basis of human fellowship and affection which cemented the domestic, municipal, provincial, and political institutions of cosmopolitan society.

Menesippus, Athenian.—"For the ratification of our new league of Friendship we shall need neither blood nor scimitar. Our present conversation, and the harmony of our dispositions, give it more authority than that blood-bowl which you quaff together. In matters that depend on taste and sentiment, all constraint is superfluous and unnecessary."

Toxaris, Scythian.—"To what you have said you have my full assent. Let us then be friends, and institute a mutual hospitality. Here in Greece I am your guest, and you shall be mine if ever you come to Scythia."

If there is a reference in this passage to the love-feasts of the Christians, as is most likely, the inference is plain that the Roman gentlemen of the age considered the social hospitalities and amenities of their own tables a sufficient pledge of human friendship. His multifarious works are the strongest evidence we possess of the popular scepticism, and the free criticism of the Roman religion tolerated in the age of the Antonines.

Celsus.

Who was Celsus, the Roman author of the *True Discourse* (λόγος ἀληθής), which drew forth the long and laboured reply of Origen (A.D. 202) of Alexandria in eight books? His name only was known to Origen himself, and rumour said that he had lived in the days of Nero or Hadrian. But as the Marcionites and Marcellians are mentioned by Celsus, it is supposed he must have composed his work during the reign of the Antonines. Be that as it may, those portions of his work which have been preserved in the body of Origen's reply *Against Celsus*, no doubt reveal the common objections raised against the "new faith" by the cultured classes in Rome, and the reasons why they rejected its claims. On that account, therefore, it deserves special attention in attestation of the unquestionable independence of the Roman reformation. The fragments of Celsus, moreover, are the relics of the only work written against the Christian faith by a Roman author, and therefore quite a literary curiosity. Probably the nearest literary parallel to the work of Celsus is the *Reasonableness of Christianity* by Locke—the British philosopher *par excellence*—adopting the same ground, and disputing the divinity of the Founder of Christianity a century after the Protestant Reformation.

How did the cultured classes of Rome then regard the new faith? The question is particularly interesting to us in the nineteenth century on account of the resurrection of the old controversy; but we cannot undertake to collect and analyse the long catalogue of objections taken to the Christianity presented by the Roman and Greek apologists and defenders of that age. The subject will be more fully treated in the sequel, under the "fathers."

The Jews from whom the Christians sprang, according to Celsus, were sunk in barbarism and fanaticism; indebted to the Egyptians for the laws of Moses and circumcision; addicted to sorcery; rejected the oracles of the Greeks and Romans, and yet received the "revelations" of the Hebrew prophets—the fables of Adam, Eve, the serpent, and the silly cosmogony and Mosaic account of creation; consequently, it is highly improbable that God would heap special favours on the Hebrew race, for the same Almighty God was worshipped by all men under different names and titles. The style of Celsus, in speaking of God, is worthy of special note. His words are: "I make no new statement, but say what has long been settled. God is good, and beautiful and blessed, and that in the best and most beautiful degree" (*ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθός ἐστι καὶ καλὸς καὶ εὐδαίμων καὶ ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ*). The God worshipped by the cultured classes of Rome in the age of the Antonines cannot be surpassed by the God of the Christians.

The miraculous birth of Jesus from a virgin is a mere fable: he was the son of a soldier named Panthera; and after Mary was divorced from Joseph, the Nazarite carpenter, for adultery, she went to Egypt with her son, where he learned magic and the expulsion of demons. He never did anything beyond human power; met with the just punishment of his career of rebellion and insurrec-

tion against the Roman government, and ought to have appeared to his judges in Jerusalem, if he wished the Jews to believe in his resurrection from the dead; for phantoms or ghosts of dead men have frequently appeared to men after death. To worship him, therefore, is pure idolatry, like the adoration of Zamolxis by the Goths, and without temples, altars, and incense, and only following the practice of the Persians. Moreover, their morals are not new, and were far better taught by Plato. And the "deadly superstition" (Tacitus) produced no effect whatever on the "lovers of wisdom" (philosophers). His controversial climax is reached on comparing the bigotry and arrogance of the Jews and Christians to "a flight of bats, or to a swarm of ants issuing out of their nest, or to frogs holding council in a marsh, or to worms crawling together in the corner of a dunghill, and quarrelling with one another as to which of them were the greatest sinners, and asserting that God shows and announces to us all things beforehand, and that, abandoning the whole world and the regions of heaven, and this great earth, he becomes a citizen among ourselves, and to us alone makes his intimations, and does not cease sending and inquiring in what way we may be associated with him for ever."

Of course, we do not require to give the replies of Origen, not even regarding the adultery of the Virgin Mary, which was most probably a current story in the days of Celsus. Moreover, the retort was perfectly justified on his part, because the "fathers" charged the gods of the Romans with the same crime. But the philosophic Roman who considered human justice (*δίκη*), temperance (*σοφρωσύνη*), and wisdom (*σοφία*) as the only standard of true manliness (*ἄνδρεια*) was thoroughly shocked with the blasphemous and bombastic aspirations of a barbarous people aiming at the imitation and "image of God"

Almighty. Galileans, Nazarenes, and Ebionites were known to Origen, who believed in the mere humanity, as well as in the mystic sense and Logos- (wisdom) possession of the Alexandrian schools. No critic will be surprised that Celsus should have preferred the "sweetness and light" of the ethereal Plato to the fantastic visions and fiery denunciations of the Hebrew prophets.

Such is the gist of the *True Discourse* of Celsus, the defender of the Roman religion purified from the hereditary "fictions of the poets" (*figmenta poetarum*); and his leading arguments have been repeated in various forms in the course of the modern scientific criticism of the origin and development of the Galilean and Christian religion. Not only so; but the concessions and confessions of Origen himself to his Roman opponent betray the weak points of the Christian position—a host of surviving superstitions, and the striking contrast between the Christian religion of the second and nineteenth centuries. Origen openly rebuts the charge of worshipping Jesus, the founder of Christianity, as a "second God;" and at the same time reveals the early delusions which betrayed the early Christians into fanaticism, and brought down persecution on their own heads from the civil government, such as assailing the national religion as the worship of demons, and the fondness of demons for the blood of sacrifices and the odours of incense offered to souls at the tombs and temples of Egypt, etc.

Who could have credited the fact, if this rare work of Celsus had not been preserved in the body of Origen's reply, that cultured Roman ladies and gentlemen charged the religion of Europe and Britain with the base idolatry of their barbarous ancestors—the Saxons, Huns, Vandals, and Goths?

Let us now turn to the Roman philosophers who threw off their cloaks, and elected to share the fortunes of the rising faith.

From this moment the reformation of Europe fell into the hands of the Greeks and Romans. The destruction of the Temple was the deathblow of the Jewish religion, and the people were scattered over the face of the earth. The immediate consequence was the domination of Roman and Greek modes of thought and expression in the formation of the new faith, and specially in the divine honours conferred on the founder of Christianity, in common with the founder of Rome—the Roman Emperors and the Roman "Sons of God."

CHAPTER II.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE LATIN AND THE GREEK FATHERS IN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPIRE.

Roman Clement.

The first author outside the *Lives and Letters of the Christian Reformers* included in the list of the defenders of the faith, called the "fathers," is Roman Clement (Clemens), whose treatise was "commonly received by all," read in the churches, and probably "numbered with the other writings of the Apostles, because it "preserves the same features of style and phraseology, and because the sentiments in both these works (Clement and Paul) are not very different," according to Eusebius (iii. 38). That is the first link of the chain of evidence—the

Catena Patrum—which connects the first Christian reformers with the defenders of the faith during the course of the three succeeding centuries until the Nicene Council. Fresh dissensions had broken out in the Christian Church of the Corinthian seaport which elicited Paul's ecclesiastical ordinances; and the letter of Clement was written for the express purpose of pouring oil on the troubled waters immediately after the Neronian persecution. The temple still stands in Jerusalem: "The apostles have preached the gospel to us by the commands of the Master, the anointed Jesus; the anointed Jesus has done so by the command of God." The kingdom of God is at hand: "And we, too, being called by his will in the anointed Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by the faith through which from the beginning Almighty God has justified all men, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen" (chap. xxxii).

The author, then, is a Jewish Christian belonging to the party of Peter, James, and John; rejoices in being a "just man" according to the Galilean faith, and seeks consolation from the lives and trials of the Jewish patriarchs and prophets in the midst of persecution.

The second letter ascribed to Clement could not have emanated from the same author, as was noticed by Eusebius himself: "It should also be observed that there is a second letter ascribed to Clement, but we do not know that this is as highly approved as the former, and do not know that it has been in use with the ancients." Further analysis is unnecessary.

The Clementine Recognitions.—The Clementine *Recognitions* form a religious romance of the most peculiar charac-

ter, illustrating the quest of truth, in the companionship of Peter, Simon Magus, Clement, and his friends. But our present Clement claims no intellectual kinship with the simple Jewish Christian. Jewish Christian he is, nominally, belonging to "the stock of Cæsar," meets a Barnabas in Rome, who sways his mind towards the new faith, starts for Cæsarea in Palestine, spends some time with Peter and Simon Magus in philosophical discussions, passes from city to city, recognises his lost father, mother, and brethren, and brings his fictitious production to a close by the baptism in the sea of all the family into the faith of Peter, the Jewish Christian, who still adheres to the worship of his fathers in the Temple of Jerusalem.

The fundamental quest of truth turns on the question, What is the difference between those "who believe in Jesus and the unbelieving Jews"? So says Clement. "The priests at one time were afraid lest haply, by the providence of God, to their confusion, the whole of the people should come over to our faith. Therefore they often sent to us, and asked us to discourse to them concerning Jesus, whether he were the prophet whom Moses foretold, who is the eternal Anointed (Χριστὸς). *For on this point only does there seem to be any difference between us who believe in Jesus and the unbelieving Jews*" (i. 43).

"Then Peter began to instruct me in this manner: When God had made the world as Lord of the universe, he appointed chiefs over the several creatures, over the trees even, and over the mountains, and the fountains, and the rivers, and all things which he had made, as we have told you, for it were too long to mention them one by one. He set, therefore, an angel as chief over the angels, a spirit over the spirits, a star over the stars, a

demon over the demons, a bird over the birds, a beast over the beasts, a serpent over the serpents, a fish over the fishes, a man over men, who is the Anointed (Χριστὸς) Jesus. But he is called Anointed by a certain excellent note of religion; for as there are certain names common to kings, as Arsaces among the Persians, Cæsar among the Romans, Pharaoh among the Egyptians, so among the Jews a king is called Anointed (Χριστὸς), and the reason of the appellation is this: Although indeed he was the Son of God, and the beginning of all things, he became man; him first God anointed with oil, which was taken from the wood of the tree of life; from that anointing, therefore, he is called Anointed (Χριστὸς). Thence, moreover, he himself also, according to the appointment of his father, anointed with similar oil every one of the pious when they came to his kingdom, for their refreshment after their labours, as having got over the difficulties of the way. So that their light may shine, and being filled with the Holy Spirit, they may be endowed with immortality" (i. 45).

Evidently we did not receive the complete theology of Peter in the "Acts of the Apostles"! But although Jesus is honoured with the title of the "Son of God," "the true Prophet," he preached the God of the Jews—"the head of the only begotten" (vi. 8). And the sum of all religion and piety consists in the belief that "there is one God, whose work the world is, and who, because he is in all respects righteous, shall render to every one according to his deeds;" and that "those who have lived righteously for the sake of God alone and his righteousness shall come to eternal rest, and shall receive the perpetuity of the heavenly kingdom" (x. 2).

We have no intention of offering a *résumé* of his

criticism of the Epicureans, Platonists, Aristotelians, and Pyrrhonists: theories of creation, angels, guardian angels, and demons contained in his ten books. The religious fiction which passes under the name of the Clementine *Recognitions* must have emanated from the mind of a Roman Stoic thoroughly dissatisfied with the religions and philosophies of the age of the Cæsars; and his philosophical exposition of the faith of Peter, at least, indicates the peculiar idiosyncrasies of the amalgamation of Roman and Jewish Christianity.

Barnabas.

The letter which passes under the name of Barnabas has been ascribed to the friend and fellow-labourer of Paul, the Roman reformer; but, of course, it is a mere conjecture. Barnabas, the Levite of Cyprus, we know, separated from Paul, and elected John, surnamed Mark, the amanuensis of Peter, for his companion. And there is no improbability in supposing that the destruction of Jerusalem, in A.D. 70, referred to in his letter, may have removed some of his scruples in adopting Paul's cosmopolitan Christianity. Pauline Christianity certainly is the sum and substance of the theological opinions presented in the letter of Barnabas, which was once "read in the churches," although placed amongst the "spurious" Scriptures by Eusebius.

"All hail, ye sons and daughters, in the name of our Master, the anointed Jesus, who loved us, in peace. I rejoice, because I truly perceive in you the Spirit poured forth from the rich Lord of Love," is the hearty salutation of the writer. "For the Lord has made known to us by the prophets both the things which are past and pre-

sent, giving us also the firstfruits of the knowledge of things to come, which things as we see accomplished one by one, we ought with the greater richness of faith and elevation of spirit to draw near to him with reverence. I then, not as your teacher, but as one of yourselves, will set forth a few things by which in present circumstances you may be rendered the more joyful."

The destruction of Jerusalem is "the firstfruits" of the fulfilment of their prophetic hopes. "He has therefore abolished these things that the new law of our Master, the Anointed Jesus, which is without the yoke of necessity, might have a human offering"—the living sacrifice of the body (Rom. xii.). "We then are they whom he has led into the good land" (the figure adopted by Apollos in his letter to the Hebrews). "What then mean the milk and honey? This, that as the infant is kept alive first by honey, and then by milk, so also we being quickened and kept alive by the faith of the promise, and by the Word, shall live ruling over the earth." For we ought to perceive that to be given which implies authority, so that we should command and rule. If, therefore, this does not exist at present, yet still he has proved it to us. When? when we ourselves also have been made perfect, so as to become heirs of the covenant of his love."

One of the many novelties found in his pages, arising from his allegorical style of interpretation, and founded on the passage quoted by Apollos from the Alexandrian Book of Wisdom, is the opinion that God spoke to the Divine "Word" or Wisdom in the plural "Elohim" of Genesis. "And further, my brethren, if the Lord endured to suffer for our sins, he being Lord of all the world, to whom God said at the foundation of the world, 'Let us

make man after our image, and after our likeness'—understand how it was that he endured to suffer at the hands of men."

But his mind is quite clear on the spiritual temple supplanting the old Temple of Jerusalem. "Moreover, I will also tell you concerning the Temple, how the wretched Jews, wandering in error, trusted not in God himself, but in the Temple, as being the House of God. For almost after the manner of the Gentiles, they worshipped him in the Temple; for through their going to war it was destroyed by their enemies. Let us inquire, then, if there still is a Temple of God. Learn then how it shall be built in the name of the Lord. Before we believed in God the habitation of a heart was corrupt and weak, and being, indeed, like a temple made with hands. For it was full of idolatry, and was a habitation of demons, through our daily seeking things as were opposed to the will of God."

Again, *On the Sabbath*, "Attend, my children, to the meaning of this expression, 'He finished in six days.' This implies that the Lord will finish all things in six thousand years; for a day is with him as a thousand years. You perceive how he speaks. Your present Sabbaths are not acceptable to me, but that is which I have made (namely, this), when giving rest to all things, I shall make a beginning of the eighth day—that is, a beginning of another world. Wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day with joyfulness—the day also on which Jesus rose again from the dead. And when he had manifested himself, he ascended to heaven." Here the foundation of the Christian kingdom of God is regarded as the commencement of the spiritual and everlasting Sabbatism (σαββατισμὸς) of Apollos. That voice is the very echo of

the spiritual faith proclaimed by Paul, the Roman reformer, and the religious blending of Roman and Alexandrian Christianity.

Letter to Diognetus.

The letter to Diognetus is anonymous, and was written to acquaint the author's friends with "the mode of worshipping God prevalent amongst Christians," "a new kind or practice of piety only now entered into the world;" and the first step which he takes is to attack "the gods that are reckoned such by the Greeks," as well as "the superstitions of the Jews." But we need not repeat the common arguments directed against Ritualism and Idolatry. Our only object is to adduce a few independent testimonies regarding the nature of the new faith, and the first quotation shows that the author adopted the Alexandrian theory of the "Logos-possession," which will be frequently referred to in the sequel.

"For, as I said, this was no mere earthly 'invention' which was delivered to them. Nor is it a mere human system of opinion which they judge it right to preserve so carefully; nor has a dispensation of mere human mysteries been committed to them, but truly God himself, who is Almighty, the Creator of all things, and invisible, has sent from heaven, and placed among men him who is the Truth, and the holy and incomprehensible Word (Λόγος), and has firmly established him in their hearts. He did not, as one might have imagined, send to men any servant, or angel, or ruler, or any one of those who bear sway over earthly things, or one of those to whom the government of things in the heaven has been intrusted, but the very Creator and Fashioner of all things, by whom he made the heaven."

Evidently our Greek philosopher was quite taken with the lofty idea of the "Demiurgus," the god who was commissioned to fashion the world (κόσμος) at the order of "the Father of gods and men," coming down from heaven and undertaking the instruction of mankind. Accordingly, we may regard his Christianity as a religious fusion of Hellenic and Jewish opinion. Such differentiations—religious "variations and adaptations"—will not surprise any student familiar with the "fathers" of Protestantism in modern Europe and Britain.

The Pastor of Hermas.

Our only reason for placing *The Pastor of Hermas* in succession is the peculiar style of the work—a series of visions, commandments, and similitudes, composed for moral instruction, with a very slight infusion of Christian doctrine. But as it was a popular favourite, "read in the churches," and "judged most necessary, especially to those who needed an elementary introduction," we must briefly refer to its contents. Its date cannot be fixed with certainty. Apparently the work was written by a Roman Christian of a contemplative cast, who deemed the old gods of Rome beneath his notice.

"First of all, we believe that there is one God, who created and finished all things, and made all things out of nothing. He alone is able to contain the whole, but himself cannot be contained. Have faith therefore in him, and fear him, and fearing him, exercise self-restraint. Keep these commandments, and you will cast away from you all wickedness. Put on the strength of righteousness and love to God if you keep this commandment." That is his first commandment, quite in the style of a Roman

Stoic; and the representation of Jesus as the Son of God, in one of his similitudes, is clothed in a similar novel style.

"The holy pre-existent Spirit that created every creature, God made to dwell in flesh when he chose. This flesh, accordingly, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, was nobly subject to that Spirit, walking religiously and chastely, in no respect defiling the Spirit; and having in every respect acted vigorously and courageously along with the Holy Spirit, he assumed it as a partner with it. For this conduct of the flesh pleased him, because it was not defiled on the earth while having the Holy Spirit. He took, therefore, as fellow-councillors his Son and the glorious angels, in order that this flesh which had been subject to the body without a fault might have some place of tabernacle, and that it might not appear that the reward of its servitude had been lost; for the flesh that has been found without spot or defilement, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, will receive a reward." What does the Pastor mean? Possibly the "Word" and wisdom of the Alexandrian schools would account for his phraseology. We cannot, however, insist on the evidence of Hermas on the point at issue. But the Pastor was a safe guide on Christian morality, for he presented the Church under the similitude of a "tower," and employed the "holy spirits" of virgins to clothe souls of Christians with "the powers of the Son of God," faith, continence, power, patience, simplicity, innocence, purity, cheerfulness, truth, understanding, harmony, love.

Our Christian fabulist must have invented the preaching of the apostle to the souls in Hades—a doctrine which crept into the Apostles' creed.

Justin, the Martyr (A.D. 114-165).

The name of Justin introduces us to the first defender of the faith, who published an address to the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius, and sealed his testimony with his blood, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, at Rome. Born as he was at Neapolis, in Samaria, and resident both at Ephesus, the Oriental, as well as at Rome, the Occidental home of Pauline Christianity; familiar, too, with all the Greek and Roman philosophies of the age, one feels a thrill of no common satisfaction in listening to the public defence of the new faith of the Roman Empire by a polished philosopher. The Roman Clement was a Jewish Christian of the Galilean type, who kept the law of Moses. The Pastor of Hermas was a Roman purist, who flavoured his religion with the essence of Christianity. The voice of Barnabas was the voice of Paul and Apollos jubilant over the new light beaming from the destruction of Jerusalem. But the long and laboured defence (*ἀπολογια*) of Christianity by Justin involves a comparison of the old and new faith of the Roman Empire, and a precise description of their dogmas and duties—religion and ritualism.

Like all the leaders of thought and opinion of the Roman Empire, he sifted the religions and philosophies of Rome, Greece, and Alexandria—Platonic, Stoic, Peripatetic, Theoretic, Jewish, and Oriental, and found them wanting—as we learn from his *Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew.* Ample justice is done, however, to the "lovers of wisdom." "Philosophy is, in fact, the greatest possession, and most honourable before God, to whom it leads us, and alone commands us; and these are truly holy men who have bestowed attention on philosophy." And he

can preface his address with an allusion to the general scepticism and declension of traditional opinions, familiar to us from our analysis of the Roman reformers :— "Reason directs those who are truly pious, and philosophy to honour and love only what is true, declining to follow traditional opinions if these be worthless. For not only does sound reason direct us to refuse the guidance of those who did or taught anything wrong, but it is incumbent on the lover of truth by all means, and if death be threatened, even before his own life, to choose to do and say what is right. Do you, then, since you are called 'pious' and philosophers, guardians of justice, and lovers of learning, give good heed and hearken to my address; for if you are indeed such it will be manifested."

What is the Christian faith, then, according to Justin, the martyr, in the second century? If one of the leading philosophers of the age of the Antonines—who rejected the religion of Rome, Greece, and the East, in favour of the new faith—cannot tell us what it is, who can? (1.) The renunciation of the worship of the Roman deities through the medium of idols or images (εἴδωλα), as demons: "We do not honour with many sacrifices and garlands of flowers such deities as men have formed and set in shrines, and called gods—since we see that they are soulless and dead, and have not the form of God (for we do not consider that God has such a form, as some say, that they imitate to his honour), but have the names and forms of those wicked demons which have appeared." (2.) The positive worship of the unnameable and invisible God, and imitation of his divine excellences: "But we have received by tradition that God does not need the material offerings which men can give, seeing

indeed that he himself is the provider of all things, and we have been taught, and are convinced, and do believe, that he accepts those only who imitate the excellences which reside in him,—temperance and justice and philanthropy, and as many virtues as are peculiar to a God who is called by no proper name. And we have been taught that he in the beginning did, of his goodness, for man's sake, create all things out of unformed matter; and if men by their works show themselves worthy of this his design, they are deemed worthy, and so we have received, of reigning in company with him, being delivered from corruption and suffering."

Faith in Almighty God, and fellowship in the divine virtues. Well, that is only philosophical purism, Justin, the emperor might say. But what of the son of the Galilean carpenter, to whom the Christians of Bithynia "sang hymns as to a God," according to Pliny's letter to the Emperor Trajan?

"Our teacher of these things is the anointed Jesus, who also was born for this purpose, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa in the times of Tiberias Cæsar; and that we reasonably worship him, having learned that he is the Son of the true God himself, and holding him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third." "And when we say also that the Word, who is the first-born of God, was produced without sexual union, and that he, the anointed Jesus, our teacher, was crucified and died and rose again, and ascended into heaven, we propound nothing different from what you believe regarding those whom you esteem sons of Jupiter. For you know how many sons your esteemed writers ascribe to Jupiter: Mercury, the interpreting word and teacher of all; Æsculapius, who, though he was a great

physician, was struck by a thunderbolt, and so ascended to heaven; and Bacchus, too, after he had been torn limb from limb; and Hercules, when he had committed himself to the flames to escape his toils; and the sons of Leda, the Dioscuri; and Perseus, son of Danae; and Bellerophon, who, though sprung from mortals, rose to heaven on the horse Pegasus. For what shall I say of Ariadne, and those who like her have been declared to be set among the stars? and what of the emperors who die among yourselves whom you deem worthy of deification, and on whose behalf you produce some one who swears he has seen the burning Cæsar rise to heaven from the funeral pyre?"

That is the plain and precise statement of the first Christian apologist, repeated over and over again in his second defence, as well as in the *Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew.* Not one of the religions and philosophies of the age satisfied the demands of Justin's intellect. The deeds and character ascribed to their gods and their sons were only fit for "demons;" and the only "Son of God" who deserves his adoration, is the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, who was crucified, rose again, ascended to heaven, and occupies the "second place" in his religious worship.

But Justin is a cosmopolitan Christian, who must have held fellowship with the spiritual disciples of the school of John at Ephesus (the scene of his *Dialogue*), learned the "mystery" of the mystic Word and wisdom of Alexandrian Christianity, and, brings all men under the influence of the Divine Spirit, who endows them with reason (λόγος) and responsibility.

"But lest some should without reason, and for the perversion of what we teach, maintain that we say that the

Christ was born 150 years ago under Cyrenius; and subsequently in the time of Pontius Pilate taught what we say he taught, and should cry out against us, though all men who were born before him were irresponsible, let us anticipate and solve the difficulty. We have been taught that the Anointed is the first-born of God; and we have declared above that he is the Word of whom every race of men were partakers; and those who lived reasonably (*μετὰ λόγου*) are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists, as among the Greeks, Socrates, and Heraclitus, and men like them; and among the barbarians (!) Abraham, and Ananias and Azarias, and Misael and Elias, and many others whose actions and names we now decline to recount, because we know it would be tedious."

Granted that Justin's representation of the founder of Christianity is a mere theory, based on the religious modes of thought and opinion prevalent amongst the philosophers of Greece and Rome, the liberal form which the new faith assumed in his hands—the claim of a common inspiration of all men by the same Divine Wisdom—must have tended to conciliate the favour of the people. How many Christian philosophers still boast of a creed steeped in hereditary delusions which consigns the non-Christian population of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America to the "uncovenanted mercies of God"?

Trypho, the Jew, smiled (as they still do) and said: "I approve of your other remarks, and admire the eagerness with which you study divine things; but it were better for you still to abide in the philosophy of Plato, or of some other man, cultivating fortitude, self-control, and moderation, rather than be deceived by false words, and follow the opinions of men of no reputation. For if you

remain in that mode of philosophy and live blamelessly, a hope of a better destiny were left to you; but when you have forsaken God and refused the confidence of men, what safety still awaits you? If, then, you are willing to listen to me (for I have already considered you a friend), first be circumcised, then observe what ordinances have been enacted with respect to the Sabbath and the feasts and the new moons of God. But the Christ, if he has indeed been born, and exists anywhere, is unknown, and does not even know himself, and has no power until Elias come to 'anoint' him, and make him manifest to all. And you, having accepted a groundless report, invent a Christ for yourselves, and for his sake are inconsiderately perishing."

Who is right now—the Jew or the Christian? for we must allow that Justin "invented" the "second place" for the Christian "Son of God," like Hercules and others in the Roman heavens.

Tatian.

The address of Tatian (an Assyrian friend of Justin) to the Greeks, is devoted to the critical analysis and satire of all the gods of Greece and Rome, "wallowing in matter and mind," which needs no repetition. His Alexandrian exposition is given in the following complicated style:—

"God was in the beginning; but the beginning, we have been taught, is the power of the Logos. For the Lord of the universe, who is himself the necessary ground of all being, inasmuch as no creature was yet in existence, was alone; but inasmuch as he was all power himself, the necessary ground of all things, visible and invisible, with him were all things: with him by Logos-

power, the Logos himself also, who was in him, subsists. And by his simple will the Logos springs forth; and the Logos not coming forth in vain, becomes the first-begotten work of the Father. Him (the Logos) we know to be the beginning of the world. But he came into being by participation, not by abscission, for what is cut off is separated from the original substance, but that which comes by participation, making its choice of function, does not render him deficient from whom it is taken. For just as from one torch many fires are lighted, but the light of the first torch is not lessened by the kindling of many torches, so the Logos coming forth from the Logos-power of the Father, has not divested of the Logos-power him who begat him."

Can any one be astonished that puny mortals lost themselves in the clouds of such transcendental distinctions?

The pun on Peter (Matt. xvi.), already referred to (p. 72), is not found in Tatian's *Diatessaron; or, Harmony of the Four Gospels.*

Tertullian (A.D. 160-220).

The name and fame of Tertullian of Carthage occupies a salient position in the *catena* of Western fathers—dashed, however, with the shadow of Montanism at the close of his brilliant and boisterous career. Destined as he was by his father, a Roman centurion of proconsular rank, to plead in the courts of law, the literary stores which he had collected for the proper discharge of the profession of advocate were devoted to the defence and exposition of the new and rising faith of the Roman Empire. Not one personal incident of his long life is preserved; but the *ingenium perfervidum*—the bubbling, boiling soul of the volcanic African, burst out and flowed

in streams of red-hot lava, and buried all the gods, heroes, and temples of old Rome beneath their scoriæ and ashes. Peal after peal rolls and rumbles along the heavens over the heads of the shuddering emperor and Roman population, and the warning voice trumpets in their ears—"We know that a mighty shock is impending over the whole earth; in fact, the very end of all things, threatening dreadful woes." What amount of truth was in Tertullian's boast we cannot tell. Modern Protestantism could plunge Britain into a glorious revolution under Cromwell one century after the Reformation; but the Christians must have multiplied to a considerable extent when he uttered the public declaration, "We are but of yesterday, and we have filled every place among you — cities, islands, fortresses, towns, market-places, the very camp, tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum; we have left nothing to you but the temples of your gods."

His *Apologeticus* is at once a defence of the Christian and an assault on the Roman faith: "Monsters of wickedness, we are accused of observing a holy rite in which we kill a little child and then eat it; in which, after the feast, we practise incest: the dogs, our pimps, forsooth, overturning the lights, and getting us the shamelessness of darkness for our impious lusts. This is what is constantly laid to our charge, and yet you take no pains to elicit the truth of what we have been so long accused; either bring thou the matter to the light of day, if you believe it, or give it no credit, as having never inquired into it." No doubt the popular calumny rose out of the poor Christians holding their religious assemblies under the veil of night. But who roused the sleeping calumny which produced the caricature? "The

God of the Christians born an ass. He had the ears of an ass, was hoofed in one foot, carried a book, and wore a toga." The very lava floods of contempt and vituperation, of course, incessantly poured on the gods and religions of Rome. "Ships of fools" and "Owl's glasses" also formed part and parcel of the pictorial pleasantries of the Protestant Reformation. "Have not your own philosophers renounced the worship of Saturn, Jupiter, and all the gods as dead men and ancient heroes turned into gods in heaven?" asked Tertullian. "Who inflicts diseases on you? who aids your augurs, astrologers, and soothsayers, and diviners? Demons. Demons and angels breathe into the soul and rouse up its corruption with furious passions and vile excesses, or with cruel lusts, accompanied by various errors, of which the worst is that by which these deities are commended to the favour of deceived and deluded human beings that they may get their proper food of flesh, fumes, and blood when that is offered up to idol images. Every spirit is possessed of wings. But we have been in the habit of exorcising them, not of swearing by them, and thereby conferring on them divine honours!" Think of that, you Romans! We are not only driving the devils out of the people, but praying for blessings on the emperor and the whole Roman Empire, which retards the mighty shock of the approaching end of the world. The whole tone and style of his rambling, declamatory, and patronising oratory was thoroughly exasperating.

"Having now thoroughly cleared ourselves, we turn now to an exhibition of what our religion really is," proceeds the stormy orator. "The object of our worship is the one God—he who by his commanding word, his arranging wisdom, his mighty power, brought forth from

nothing this mighty mass of our world with all its array of elements, bodies, spirits, for the glory of His Majesty, whence also the Greeks have bestowed on it the name of κόσμος. He is incomprehensible; he is beyond our utmost thoughts though our human faculties conceive of him." No Roman philosopher would object to Tertullian's definition of the divine existence and unity. But a "written revelation" for the Jews and Christians too? No. We protest against all the Sibylline books and "oracles" of Greece and Rome. Consequently the boasted prognostications of credulous Tertullian—"All that is taking place around you was fore-announced" by the Hebrew prophets, were utterly thrown away.

"Let your search now be after gods: for those whom you had imagined to be so you find to be spirits of evil. But at once they will say, Who is this 'Anointed' with his fables? is he an ordinary man? is he a sorcerer? was his body stolen by his disciples from the tomb? is he now in the realms below? or is he not rather up in the heavens, thence about to come again, making the whole world shake, filling the earth with dread alarms, making all but Christians wail, as the 'power of God,' and the 'Spirit of God,' and the 'Word,' and the 'Reason,' and the 'Wisdom,' and the 'Son of God'? Mock as you like, but get the demons if you can to join in your mockery: let them deny that the 'Anointed' is coming to judge every human soul which has existed from the world's beginning, clothing it again with the body it laid aside at death. It is abundantly plain that your philosophers, too, regard the Logos, we the Word and Reason, as the creator of the universe; for Zeus lays it down that he is the Creator, having made all things according to a determinate plan: that his name is Fate

and God, and the soul of Jupiter, and the necessity of all things. We have been taught that he proceeds forth from God, and in that procession he is generated, so that he is the Son of God, and is called God from unity of substance with God; for God, too, is a spirit. Even when the ray is shot from the sun it is still part of the parent mass, the sun will still be in the ray, because it is a ray of the sun, and there is no division of substance, but merely an extension. Thus the Anointed is spirit of spirits, and God of God, as light of light is kindled. He is made a second in manner of existence—in position, not in nature. This ray of God, then, as it was always foretold in ancient times, descending into a certain virgin, and made flesh in her womb, is in his birth God and man united. The flesh formed by the Spirit is nourished, grows up to manhood, speaks, teaches, works, and is the Anointed. Receive, meanwhile, this fable, if you choose to call it so—it is like some of your own."

We need not go any further. The fiery soul of the fervid Tertullian boils and bubbles in the crater of the solvent religions of Rome, Greece, and Egypt, and the East; and the new "Son of God" which issued from his hands sprang from the very same mould as the divine Logos, Wisdom, and Word of Philo, Apollos, and his predecessors. The honorary titles conferred on the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee only elevated him to the "second" position in his theological system, like one of the Hellenic or Roman heroes transferred to the court of heaven.

Likeness to his old Roman religion in his Christian Son of God! and likeness again to Roman Tartarus and Elysium in his Christian paradise and Gehenna provided for the future state of everlasting punishments and rewards under the earth.

"Like us the poets and philosophers set up a judgment-seat in the realms below. And if we threaten Gehenna, which is a reservoir of secret fire under the earth for the purpose of punishment, we have in the same way derision heaped on us. For so, too, they have their Pyriphlegethon, a river of flame, in the regions of the dead. And if we speak of Paradise, the place of heavenly bliss appointed to receive the spirits of the saints, severed from the knowledge of this world by the fiery zone as a sort of enclosure, the Elysian plains have taken possession of their faith. Whence is it, I pray you, that you have all this? so like us in the poets and philosophers! The reason simply is that they have been taken from our religion. But if they are taken from our sacred things as being of earlier date, then ours are the truer, and have higher claims upon belief since even their imitations find faith among you."

Surely such considerate accommodation and assimilation must have been consoling to his Roman and African friends! Did no bishop charge him with revolting against the Pauline mystery "of the exaltation of the saints in the air for ever and ever with their Master?" And not in a "spiritual body"—not even in "the same outward framework"—but with a restored body, "for the soul is not capable of suffering without the solid substance, which is their flesh."

We have selected the Christian dogmas only, presented by the fiery Tertullian, from his long and rhetorical *Defence of the Christians*, consisting of fifty chapters. And we merely refer to the full and beautiful description of "the peculiarities of the Christian society"—love-feasts and benevolent practice—contained in the thirty-nine chapters, which must have proved a strong attraction to all lovers of social order, as well as pure religious life and association.

The further analysis of his treatise on Spectacles, Idolatry, Flight in Persecution, Dress, Christian Ethics, and Casuistry generally, does not fall within the scope of our present inquiries, else we might have pointed out the rigid austerity and extravagant asceticism which his ardent temperament and adopted Montanism led him to inculcate; we refer to his tedious prescriptions on fasting, prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day, as well as "vigils all night," at the preparation for baptism —which might still take place "in a sea or a pool or a fountain, a lake or a trough." Sunday, moreover, continues to be devoted to "rejoicing." Thanks to the candid but credulous and fervid faith of the Carthaginian who buried the old faith beneath a flood of burning lava, and preserved the crystalline image of the founder of the new faith in the likeness of the Roman "Sons of God." He, too, assigns the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee a "second position" in the Christian heaven.

Minucius Felix (A.D. 166).

The only father belonging to the second century who sprang from *Roma Antiqua* was M. Felix, an advocate, who "emerged from the abyss of darkness into the light of wisdom and truth," and composed the dialogue passing under his name; nothing further is known of him. But as not the slightest fusion of Jewish Christianity is found within the limits of his elegant and classic treatise, we are inclined to regard him as a purely Roman Christian who had renounced the hereditary superstitions of his ancestors, like M. Aurelius and Lucian, and adopted the cosmopolitan faith of Paul, the Roman reformer: "We

distinguish people and nations: to God the whole world is one family." In that respect he presents a striking likeness to Locke, the author of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, and Hobbes, the author of the *Christian Commonwealth*, at the parallel period in our own history.

The scene of his dialogue lies at the rocky barriers of the port of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, where he spent his "holidays of the courts at the vintage-time, in search of health at the marine baths." The speakers are his friends Cæcilius and Octavius, with himself as umpire in the discussion; and the whole train of argument conducted by Cæcilius, the champion of the old faith, bears in favour of the national religion, in spite of the general scepticism of all sects of philosophy. Could any man deny that the Roman people had become the masters of the world under the patronage and protection of the gods?

"Is it not a thing to be lamented that men of a reprobate, unlawful, and desperate faction should rage against the gods? who having gathered together from the lowest dregs the more unskilled, and women, credulous, and, by the facility of their sex, yielding, establish a herd of a profane conspiracy, which is leagued together by nightly meetings, and solemn fasts, and inhuman meats—not by any sacred rite, but by that which requires expiation—a people skulking and shunning the light, silent in public, but garrulous in corners. They despise the temples as dead-houses, they reject the gods, they laugh at sacred things; wretched, they pity, if they are allowed, the priests; half naked themselves, they despise honours and purple robes." "Why have they no altars, no temples, no acknowledged images?"

Such are the odious charges brought against the new

faith by the champion of the old religion of Rome, the capital of the world. And the defence of Octavius is based on the common faith of "the one true Father of gods and men," recognised by all the "lovers of wisdom" of Greece and Rome.

"What else is God announced to be by us but mind and reason and spirit?" And he quotes the opinions and "teaching of the philosophers"—Thales, Anaximenes, Diogenes, Anaxagoras, Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Antisthenes, Democritus, Epicurus, Aristotle, Heraclides, Theophrastus, Zeno, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Xenophon, Plato—in support of his own views. "The same almost are the opinions which are ours. For we know and speak of a God who is parent of all, and never speak of him in public, unless we are interrogated. I have set forth the opinions almost of all the philosophers whose more illustrious glory it is to have pointed out that there is one God, although with many names; so that any one might think either that Christians are now philosophers, or that philosophers were then already Christians."

Demons only could have invented the abominations and atrocities charged on the Christians. Take the description of the Christian Reunion by a cultured Roman gentleman, and professional advocate of the capital:—

"We maintain our modesty not in appearance, but in our heart: we gladly abide by the bond of a single marriage: in the desire of procreating we know either one wife or none at all. We practise sharing in banquets, which are not only modest, but also sober; for we do not indulge in entertainments, nor prolong our feasts with wine; but we temper our joyousness with gravity, with chaste discourse, and with body even more chaste—several of us unviolated: enjoy rather than make a boast of per-

petual virginity. So far, in fact, are they from indulging an incestuous desire, that with some even the modest intercourse of the sexes causes a blush. Neither do we at once stand on the level of the lowest of the people, if we refuse your honours and purple robes; and we are not fastidious, if we all have a discernment of one good, but are assembled together with the same quietness with which we live as individuals; and we are not garrulous in corners, although you either blush, or are afraid to hear us in public. And that day by day the number of us is increased is not a ground for a charge of error, but is a testimony which claims praise; for in a fair mode of life our actual number both continues and abides undiminished, and strangers increase it. Thus, in short, we do not distinguish our people by some small bodily mark, as you suppose, but easily enough by the sign of innocency and modesty. Thus we love one another, to your regret, with a mutual love, because we do not know how to hate. Thus we call one another, to your envy, brethren, as being men born of one God and parent, and companions in faith, and as fellow-heirs of hope" (chap. xxxi.).

Whatever Christian advocates may think in the present day, it is quite evident that our Roman advocate in the third century found no other "Evidences" necessary than adherence to the same faith and love.

And lastly, take the pure and spiritual notions of a philosophical Christian, who renounced the hereditary worship of the Romans through the medium of artistic temples, altars, and images.

"Do you think that we conceal what we worship if we have not temples and altars? And yet what image of God shall I make, since, if you think rightly, man himself is the image of God?" What temple shall I build to

him, when this whole world fashioned by his work cannot receive him? And when I, a man, dwell far and wide, shall I shut up the might of so great a majesty within one little building? Were it not better that he should be dedicated in our mind, consecrated in our inmost heart? Shall I offer victims and sacrifices to the Lord, such as he has produced for my use, that I should throw back to him his own gift? It is ungrateful, when the victim fit for sacrifice is a good disposition and a pure mind, and a sincere judgment. Therefore he who cultivates innocence supplicates God: he who cultivates justice makes offerings to God: he who abstains from fraudulent practices propitiates God: he who snatches man from danger slaughters the most acceptable victim. These are our sacrifices, these are our rites of God's worship: thus among us he who is most just is he who is most religious.

"But certainly the God whom we worship we neither show nor see. Verily for this reason we believe him to be God, that we can be conscious of him, but cannot see him: for in his works, and in all the movements of the world, we behold his power ever present, when he thunders, lightens, darts his bolts, or when he makes all bright again" (chap. xxxii.).

Surely divine dedication, consecration of the human heart, a good disposition, a pure mind, and a sincere judgment, to the service of Almighty God, is the very spirit and essence of the prayer of Paul, the Roman reformer, addressed to the Christians of the capital: "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service"—is appropriate to a rational human being.

And what position does the founder of Christianity occupy in the faith of M. Felix? Echo answers—What? Arnobius openly asks the Romans of his day, "Do you not worship Romulus and Hercules, who have ascended to heaven; and as candidly replies, So do we worship one who was born a man." But the nature and character of the founder did not form the topic of discussion in the classic dialogue of M. Felix; accordingly we are bound to classify him as a pure and sincere disciple of Paul, the Roman reformer — the founder of Cosmopolitan Christianity.

Irenæus (A.D. 120-189).

One of the most extraordinary productions of Patristic literature is the "Refutation and Subversion of Knowledge (γνῶσις) falsely so called," generally referred to under the title of *Against Heresies*, by Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, but a native of Syria, the seat and centre of Oriental Christianity. And his work should be carefully examined by every student who wishes to acquaint himself with the prodigious fermentation produced by the fusion of Oriental and Occidental religions, during the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. We have no intention of disentangling the peculiar theological combinations arranged by Valentinus, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Cerdo, Marcion, Ebionites, Ophites, Sethites, Cainites, etc., described in his first book; or the preposterous refutation founded on the most capricious interpretations of endless passages of the Old and New Testament.

The whole system of Aeons (ἀιών=ever existing), thirty in number, constituting the Pleroma (πλήρωμα) or divine

fulness, was a Hellenic and Oriental compound invented for the purpose of explaining the nature of the divine government of man and the universe, as well as the mission and character of the founder of Christianity. The system may not have been carried to such a pitch of complication and completeness in the days of Paul; but he undoubtedly adopted the popular phraseology current in Ephesus, and claimed the possession of all divine "knowledge," or the "fulness of the Godhead bodily," on behalf of the founder of Christianity—at the same time his prayer for the same privileges to all his fellow-Christians would probably prevent all misunderstanding. Special attention should be paid to the "Demiurgus" or world-maker, who plays the part of Brahma, the "Creator," while Brahma himself remains in a state of supreme serenity and imperturbable dignity, in the Hindu Triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. And if the Word (Λόγος) or Wisdom of Philo, Apollos, and the Alexandrian fathers is not traceable to the same source, the Hindu, Hebrew, and Hellenic ideas formed the stepping-stone to the Alexandrian Christianity formulated in the creed of the Nicene Council.

We need not repeat the Alexandrian opinions of Irenæus on the nature and dignity of the founder of Christianity (B. i. 10, iv. 4). But the allusion to the resignation of his commission and authority, and the Father becoming all in all (v. 36), induces us to place him amongst the defenders of Roman Christianity.

Theophilus (A.D. 168-180).

The major portion of the treatise of Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, deals in the stock arguments against Poly-

theism and Idolatry, and the evidence in favour of moral Theism common to all the philosophers from Cicero to M. Aurelius. Accordingly we need only insert his peculiar exposition of the "Word" of God.

"God then having his own Word internal (ἐνδιάθετος) within his own breast, begat him, emitting him along with his own wisdom before all things. He had this 'Word' as a helper in the things that were created by him, and by him he made all things. He is called governing principle (ἀρχὴ) because he rules, and is Lord of all things fashioned by him. He then being spirit of God and governing principle, and wisdom and power of the Highest, came down upon the prophets, and through them spake of the creation of the world and all other things."

That may be Oriental Christianity in the second century, but we cannot lay any great stress on his philosophical exposition. It is only the Hellenic "Demiurgus" labelled "Divine Wisdom," and appropriated, along with the "governing principle" of Ionian philosophy, for the purpose of conferring honourable titles on the founder of the Christian faith.

Athenagoras (A.D. 177).

The very same course of argument is adopted by Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, in his Plea (πρεσβεία) for the Christians, addressed to M. Aurelius; but we cannot pass by the successor of Plato and Aristotle, who rejected the polished culture of Hellenic Minerva, sprung from the head of almighty Zeus, and bowed before the divine "Word" (Λόγος) and Wisdom of the Christian God. What, then, is the nature of his

classic Plea?—"In your empire, greatest of sovereigns, different nations have different customs and laws, and no one is hindered by law or fear of punishment from following his ancestral usages, however ridiculous they may be. But for us who are called Christians you have not in like manner cared."

Religious toleration and equality (as it still is with modern Protestants) was his only demand. But he roused the worst passions of the citizens by a reckless assault on the gods and religion of the Roman Empire, and branded them all, as the Christians generally did, with the nature and character of demons: "For they who draw men to idols are the demons who are eager for the blood of the sacrifices, and lick them; but the gods that please the multitude, and whose names are given to the images, were men, as may be learned from history." True, he maintained, like all the philosophers, the supremacy and unity of God, rebutted the popular charges of Atheism, Thyestean banquets, and Œdipodian intercourse; but he eclipsed all the sons of God and heroes of Rome and Greece by the apotheosis of the Galilean Prophet for a new son of God.

"We acknowledge also a Son of God. Nor let any one think it ridiculous that God should have a son. For though the poets in their fictions represent the gods as no better than men, our mode of thinking is not the same as theirs concerning either God the Father or the Son. But the Son of God is the Logos of the Father, in idea and in operation, for after the pattern of him and by him were all things made, the Father and the Son being one. And the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son, in oneness and power of spirit, the understanding and reason (νοῦς καὶ λόγος) of the Father is the Son of God."

"We recognise also a multitude of angels and ministers whom God, the maker and framer of the world, distributed and appointed to their several posts by his Logos to occupy themselves about the elements and the heavens and the world, and the things in it, and the goodly ordering of them all."

What did M. Aurelius reply to the Attic philosopher fighting under a Christian standard? Not one word on the subject survives except an allusion to the "obstinacy" of Christians. What could he reply consistently with the renunciation of all the hero-worship of antiquity common to the philosophers of the age? Athenagoras puts down the gods as deified men. Do you seriously expect us, Athenagoras, to bow before the altar of a new god—a Jewish prophet—with all the patriarchs, poets, and prophets of Palestine in his hands, and accept hosts of celestial angels and ministers in the stead of our own Minerva, Mercury, Iris, Graces, Muses, Furies, and Eumenides! O you obstinate Christians! "love God and mankind." All the elegance and eloquence of Athenagoras were spent in vain on the Stoic emperor. Athenagoras might complete a system of Christian "eclecticism" in his study, and select a Platonic and Philonic survival for a new "Son of God," to furnish oracles and expositions of "the good, the beautiful, and the true" to his Athenian disciples; but he was only an "obstinate" Christian to M. Aurelius, who would not object to his "bloodless" sacrifice and service of reason.

Novatian.

The only reason we have for citing Novatian, belonging to the rigid sect of the "Puritans" in the third

century, is on account of his interpretation of the disputed passage in the *Spiritual Gospel*, "I and the Father are one" (ἕν), overlooked in the revised translation of the New Testament (John x. 30). "For one placed in the neuter intimates the social concord, not the personal unity" (*On the Trinity*, chap. xxvii.).

At the same time we may add Novatian's statement regarding the founder of Christianity: "There is a great risk of saying that the Saviour of the human race, the Lord of all, and the chief of the world, to whom all things were delivered and all things were granted by his Father, by whom all things were ordained, all things were created, all things were arranged, the king of all ages and times, the prince of all the angels, before whom there is none but the Father, was only man, and denying to him divine authority in these things" (*Trinity*, xi.). The second place only is assigned to the founder of Christianity.

CHAPTER III.

Alexandrian Clement.

The first pure type of Alexandrian Christianity is Clement, the lineal successor of Philo and Apollos, an eclectic philosopher who sifted all the religions and philosophies of the day during his travels in Palestine, Greece, Italy, and the East, embraced the rising faith of Christianity, and was placed at the head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. His chief surviving works are *The Exhortation to the Greeks, The Instructor, and Miscellanies;* and as Origen sat at his feet, and the theological

opinions of both these Alexandrian defenders of the faith moulded the creed of the Fathers of the Nicene Council, we deem it necessary to examine their peculiar presentation of Christian doctrines.

The *Exhortation to the Greeks* forms one of the most scathing exposures of the licentiousness and immoralities of the gods and heroes of old Greece and Rome; and the Christian orator displays his rhetorical skill by flashing the sublime descriptions of the Jewish God and his only-begotten Son, the Word and Wisdom of God, in their face, and burying their odiousness in total eclipse. But who ever dreamed of defending the royal adulteries and incarnations of Jove in the form of bulls, ganders, and golden showers, paid any worship to Hercules, or shuddered at the thought of Cerberus, Tartarus, and fiery Phlegethon? Ever since the days of Cicero on the *Nature of the Gods*, and Lucretius on the *Nature of Things*, philosopher after philosopher, poet after poet, followed in their footsteps. When Epictetus, M. Aurelius, Lucian, and Celsus preached a faith and practical morals as pure as Paul, the Roman reformer, why does Alexandrian Clement ransack the pages of the old historians, poets, and philosophers of Greece and Rome in search of gods made in the likeness of men, and divine characters degraded with all the barbarities and atrocities of the ancient heroes? Simply because the gods of Rome still received the nominal adoration of the people and emperor. Accordingly every Greek and Roman philosopher of any eminence who goes over to the new faith seizes his weapons and assaults the old gods, who claimed his reverence, as demons and delusions.

But Clement does not wholly disown Plato and his old Hellenic teachers; for he maintains that they borrowed

their philosophy from Moses and the Jewish people,—a people of far greater antiquity than the Greeks; and arrives step by step at the conclusion, that before the birth of Jesus, "philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness. For the husbandman of the soil which is among men is one; he who from the beginning, from the foundation of the world, sowed nutritious seeds; he who in each age rained down the Lord, the 'Word.' But the times and places which received such gifts created the differences which exist. And by philosophy I do not mean the Stoic or Platonic, or the Epicurean or the Aristotelian; but whatever has been well said by each of these sects, which teach righteousness along with a knowledge pervaded by piety—this eclecticism I call philosophy. So then, the barbarian and Hellenic philosophy has been torn off a fragment of eternal truth, not from the mythology of Dionysus, but from the theology of the ever-living 'Word.' It is he also who gave philosophy to the Greeks by means of the inferior angels. For by an ancient and divine order, the angels are distributed among the nations" (Deut. xxxii. 8, 9; Septuagint).

Here we see the successive steps which led the Christian eclectic to adopt the cosmopolitan Christianity of Paul and Apollos; the diffusion of philosophy through the instrumentality of the divine "Word" and Wisdom, and guardian angels over the various nations of the earth —the source of all the variety existing at different "times and places," and, as in the case of the Jews, becoming a "schoolmaster" to prepare and lead them to the pure faith of Christianity. Downright angels are Oriental enough, to be sure; common to all Asiatic "Sacred Books." Divine agents, at any rate, they were, in the opinion of Clement; and like Justin, the martyr, his

eclectic mind is gratified with the benevolent creed of the divine Wisdom giving instruction to all men on the face of the earth. But Clement is not content with claiming divine instruction for all men by the light of reason. The good Pastor of Hermas sent the apostles to preach to souls in Hades; and he advances a step in the development of dogmas, and boldly declares that the "Anointed" preached the Gospel to those in Hades, and paved the way for the "saving and disciplining pain of Purgatory, and the extinction of hell itself in the long run."

What is the nature of Clement's exposition of the divine Word and Wisdom peculiar to the Alexandrian theology of Philo the Jew and the Christian Apollos, as well as the school of John? The Logos-possession, of course, on the part of all the holy men, poets, and prophets of the Jewish people, from Genesis to Revelation, of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, as well as fragments of eclectic truth "torn off from the theology of the ever-living word." But we must allow our learned and elegant expositor of Alexandrian Christianity to speak for himself —or rather, in this instance, in the words put into the mouth of Jesus.

"Hear, ye myriad tribes, rather whoever among men are endowed with reason, both barbarian and Greeks. I call on the whole race of men, whose creator I am, by the will of the Father, come to me, that you may be put in your due rank under the one God, and the one 'Word' of God; and do not only have the advantage of the irrational creatures in the possession of reason, for to you, of all mortals, I grant the enjoyment of immortality. For I want—I want to impart to you this favour, bestowing on you the perfect boon of immortality; and I confer on you both the 'Word' and the knowledge of God, my complete

self. This am I, this God wills; this is symphony, this the harmony of the Father, this is the Son, this is the 'Anointed,' this the 'Word' of God, the arm of the Lord, the power of the universe, the will of the Father, of which things there were images of old, but not at all adequate. I desire to restore to you, according to the original model, that you may become also like me. I anoint you with the unguent of faith, by which you throw off corruption, and show the naked form of righteousness by which you ascend to God" (*Exhort.* xii.).

Alexandrian magniloquence, certainly. And we cannot but admire the "eclectic" ingenuity of the defender of the new faith in selecting all the virtues which summed up Hellenic and Roman perfection, and placing the crown on the head of his Christian "Gnostic" for an "original model" and image of God.

"Mildness, I think, and philanthropy, and eminent piety, are the rules of Gnostic assimilation. I affirm that these virtues are a sacrifice acceptable in the sight of God, Scripture alleging that the humble heart, with right knowledge, is the holocaust of God—each man who is admitted to holiness being illuminated in order to indissoluble union." Further, he employs prudence (*σωφροσύνη*), and righteousness (*δίκη*), and the acquisition of wisdom (*σοφία*) and fortitude (*ἀνδρεία*) not only in the endurance of circumstances, but also in restraining pleasure and desire, grief and anger, and in general to withstand everything which either by any force or fraud entices us (*Miscell.* vii. 3.).

First-rate policy and diplomacy, undoubtedly. But where is the religious and ethical distinction between the pure philosophy of M. Aurelius and the "eclectic" faith of the Alexandrian Clement?

Origen (A.D. 185–254).

What is the value of Origen, the adamantine (*adamantinus*) Alexandrian—the eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake, who published the *Hexapla* (six versions of Hebrew and Greek MSS., which cost him twenty-eight years), *Christian Principles*, *Commentaries on the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures*, *The Reply to Celsus* (*Contra Celsum*), and miscellanies amounting to six thousand volumes, large and small?

Beyond all question his adamantine energies were spent in raising the heterogeneous superstructure on the foundation of Philo and Apollos, the bastard compound crowned by the Hellenic, Roman, and Oriental creed of the Nicene Council (A.D. 325). Without pretending to sift all the voluminous remains of the Adamantine Father, we must at least take a glance at his mystical and allegorical Hebrew Monotheism on its passage towards the modified Christian Polytheism or Tritheism of the succeeding century.

Son as he was of an Alexandrian Christian, the Greek teacher Leonides, the whole tendency of his life and opinions was determined by the death of his father during the persecution which broke out under the reign of Septimius Severus. The young devotee would have shared the fate of his father if his mother had not concealed his dress. Even after his father's death, and the confiscation of his property, he led a life of severe fasting, prayer, and austerity, fed on the coarsest fare, went barefoot, slept on the bare ground, sold a large and valuable collection of MSS. in return for a perpetual income of 5d. a day; attended the lectures of Ammonius Saccas, the Neo-Pla-

tonist, as well as Clement, his predecessor, and rose to the head of the Catechetical School, under the patronage of Bishop Demetrius. Persecution under Caracalla drove him out of Alexandria to Cæsarea, in Palestine, where he remained for several years, and was honoured with a summons to visit Mammæa, the pious mother of Alexander Severus. Successive missions took him to Rome, Greece, and Arabia; but his ordination as presbyter at Cæsarea without the consent of Bishop Demetrius excited the jealousy of his superior, and brought down the vengeance of two ecclesiastical councils on his devoted head. Several years were passed in concealment in the house of a Christian lady at Cæsarea of Cappadocia during the persecution under Maximus, but the sufferings of the plodding, patient, and indefatigable student in the prison of Tyre, in the Decian persecution, hastened his death a few years after the recovery of his liberty, in A.D. 254, in the seventieth year of his age. Seven amanuenses, assisted by as many girls, were provided by his friend Ambrosius to keep up the circulation of his valuable works.

Such was the studious, austere, and chequered career of the Alexandrian scholar during the spasmodic persecutions of Severus, Caracalla, Maximus, and Decius. But the fiery trial would appear to have left no stamp of bitterness or hostility on the spirit or style of his Christian instruction. His adamantine soul must have dwelt in an atmosphere of mild and calm serenity, loaded occasionally, however, with the heavy clouds and vapours of Alexandrian superstition. But the blended spirit of Moses and Jesus, Paul and Plato, Philo and Apollos, Clement and Ammonius Saccas, defy all attempts at critical detection and analysis.

If the question be put—What is Alexandrian Chris-

tianity now, within a century of the Nicene Council?—Most certainly not the Alexandrian Christianity of Apollos (in the letter to the Hebrews), the beloved brother of Paul, the Roman reformer—the simple faith of the patriarchs, poets, and prophets of Palestine (Heb. xi.); not even the faith of Philo, the Alexandrian Jew, who resolved the two tables of the Moral Law into justice and human duty; but the complicated theological system expounded in the four books of Origen's *Christian Principles* (*De Principiis*). It is neither Platonism nor Neo-Platonism, but Christian "eclecticism," the "natural selection" of all the races and religions of all "times and places," of the East and West, peculiar to his master Clement, reared under the cosmopolitan and philosophical shades of the Alexandrian Museum. Critical dissection and mystical interpretation of the sacred books of the Jews and Christians were his special *forte*. Body, soul, and spirit—a literal, spiritual, and mystic sense—must be extracted from every sacred text—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, from Genesis to Malachi, and from Matthew to the Revelation of John.

"Let no one, however, entertain the suspicion that we do not believe any history or Scripture to be literal because we suspect certain events not to have taken place, or that no precepts of the Law are to be taken literally because we consider certain of them, in which either the nature or probability of the case so requires, incapable of being observed; or that we do not believe those predictions which were written of the Saviour to have been fulfilled in a manner palpable to the senses, or that the Commandments are not to be literally obeyed. We have, therefore, to state in answer, since we are manifestly so of opinion, that the truth of the history may and ought to be preserved in the majority of instances." For the passages

which held good in their historical acceptance are much more numerous than those which contain a purely spiritual meaning.

The pupil of Ammonius Saccas suspects the narratives of the Hebrew prophets to be fables and fictions (*figmenta poetarum*), and they go off in "mystical" senses! Such a hermeneutical method, of course, gave full scope to subtle speculation and dogmatic latitudinarianism. The mere dictum of Moses, Jesus, Paul, or Apollos on God, the soul, and immortality, is liable to philosophic expansion and elaboration. *E.g.* hear Moses: "The inspiration of the Almighty gives understanding." Listen to Origen: "But with respect to the soul, whether it is derived from the seed by a process of Traducianism, so that the reason or substance of it may be considered as placed in the seminal particles of the body themselves; or whether it has any other beginning itself, whether it be by birth or not; or whether it is bestowed upon the body from without or no, is not distinguished with sufficient clearness in the teaching of the Church" (*Prin.* i. 5).

Here theological tradition and philosophical speculation have come into collision. Our Alexandrian father is not quite certain whether the human soul is transmitted by ordinary generation or by immediate divine creation. However, the soul does receive a share of the divine nature and wisdom. "We are of opinion that every rational creature, without any distinction, receives a share of him in the same way as of the Wisdom or of the 'Word' of God" (*Prin.* ii. 7. 2). Another psychological distinction! A portion of the divine nature, and of the divine "Word" too, are communicated to the human soul.

Spite of all psychological speculation regarding the corporeal and incorporeal nature of God, based on the

anthropomorphism of the Hebrew poets and prophets, the ascription of human parts and passions to Jahveh—"God is a Spirit"—incomprehensible and unsearchable. "Among all intelligent, that is, among all incorporeal beings, what is so superior to all others, so unspeakably and incalculably superior, as God, whose nature cannot be grasped or seen by the power of any human understanding, even the purest and brightest!" (*Prin.* i. 5).

Origen is true to Hebrew Agnosticism. You "cannot see God and live." At the commencement of his *Christian Principles* the true divinity or generation of the Holy Spirit was unsettled. "In his case it is not clearly distinguished whether he is to be regarded as born or innate, or also as a 'Son of God,' or not; for these are points which have to be inquired into out of sacred Scripture, according to the best of our ability, and which demands careful investigation" (*Prin.* i. 4). "But the Father only is uncreated" (*Prin.* i. 2. 6). The very Devil and his angels are suspected; they may only be "opposing influences," like the Eumenides and Erinnys of the Hellenic religion. "The teaching of the Church has laid down that these beings exist indeed; but what they are, or how they exist, it has not explained with sufficient clearness" (*Prin.* i. 6). But the guardianship of the soul by good angels is gladly accepted. What is to be the future state of the human soul and the fallen angels who led them astray cannot be exactly specified. "Perhaps in the end every bodily substance will be so pure and refined as to be like the æther, or of a celestial purity and clearness" (*Prin.* i. 6). "We think, indeed, that God, through his 'Anointed,' may recall all his creation to one end, even his enemies being conquered, and subdued" (*Prin.* i. 6. 1), according to Paul's doctrine in the letter to the Cor-

inthians. With Origen, however, "universal redemption" remained a mere hypothesis. We are deeply indebted to him for his theological candour.

What rank does the Founder of Christianity hold in the theological creed of the adamantine Origen? is a question of fundamental importance; for the keen controversy waged by the Arians and Athanasians in the Nicene Council turned on the philosophical distinctions in the nature of the human and divine souls mysteriously united in the body of the Founder and his fellow-Christians. And we reply that he is a consistent disciple of Philo, Apollos, and Alexandrian Clement, both in the chapter on the "Anointed" (Χριστὸς), as well as incidentally in the course of his dogmatic expositions.

"For this point must, above all others, be maintained by those who allow nothing to be unbegotten, *i.e.* unborn, save God the Father only. And we must be careful not to fall into the absurdities of those who picture to themselves emanations, so as to divide the divine nature into parts" (*Prin.* i. 2. 6).

To start with, God the Father is unbegotten and unborn; on that point there is no doubt whatever. But every human soul shared in the divine nature. The Spirit of God was given to Jesus "above measure," according to John, and the ascription of all the divine qualities and honours of the Wisdom and "Word" (Λόγος) of God to the Founder of Christianity paved the way for his final deification in the hands of the Greek and Roman fathers. No critic in the present day would attach the slightest value to his method of applying all the texts referring to divine Wisdom in the sacred books of the Jews and Christians to the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee. Accordingly, we need not pass them under review. And we

quote the following passage from his work against Celsus, who taunts the Christians with idolatry and the worship of a new god.

"For we must not, on account of these feminine names and nature, regard wisdom (σοφία) and righteousness as female; for these things are in our view the 'Son of God,' as his genuine disciple has shown when he said, 'Who of God is made to us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption;' and although we may call him a 'second god,' we mean nothing else than a virtue capable of including all other virtues, capable of containing all reason whatsoever, which exists in all things which have arisen naturally, directly, and for the general advantage; and which reason we say dwelt in the soul of Jesus, and was united to him in a degree far above all other souls, seeing he alone was enabled completely to receive the highest share in the absolute reason and absolute wisdom and the absolute righteousness" (*Celsus*, v. 39).

If no "second god" was worshipped by Origen, the father of Alexandrian Christianity, did his creed occupy a superior position to the pure, moral theism of Celsus, his Roman opponent? The God of Celsus (good, beautiful, blessed, and that in the best and most beautiful degree) would meet with the approbation of Origen; but they would quarrel on the standard of human conduct and morals. Human wisdom, justice, temperance, and true manliness (all the virtues ascribed to Jesus) would be the ethical ideal of the Roman Celsus, as well as all Hellenists, Platonists, and Neo-Platonists; while the "image of God," divine Wisdom, nothing less than God Almighty himself, would be set up for the aim and imitation of mankind by adamantine Origen. Can any rational critic of the nineteenth century doubt that these

splendid Orientalisms must be reduced to the level of our common humanity by exact definition, logical "scale and measure"?

The largest proportion of his eight books composed against Celsus would, in his own language, "produce no effect on philosophers" in the present day. Possibly many of their physical and psychological speculations would be placed on a par, such as the popular imagination regarding the "life" and even divinity of the sun, moon, and stars. But the cultured Roman, the Platonist, as well as the Neo-Platonist, who renounced the cosmogonies and theogonies of old Hesiod and Homer, along with all the Delphic and Sibylline oracles and omens, divinations, and vaticinations, would have smiled at the "silly superstitions" of the Alexandrian father who branded Jupiter, the king of heaven, as a demon; asserted that demons lodged in animals for the sake of prognostications; lurked in idols; delighted in the odour of sacrifices and incense, and were expelled in the name of Jesus. His reply to Celsus on the subject of the observance of festivals is worthy of notice, because it proves that the spiritual Sabbatism of life—the rest or cessation from the works of the flesh peculiar to Apollos—inspired the sentiments of Origen regarding the Christian Sabbath. "If it be objected to us on this subject that we ourselves are accustomed to observe certain days, as, for example, the 'Lord's Day,' the preparation, the Passover, or Pentecost, I have to answer that to the perfect Christian who is ever in his thoughts, words, and deeds serving his natural Lord,—God, the 'Word,'—all his days are the Lord's, and he is always keeping the Lord's Day."

We append the conclusion of Origen against Celsus, and consider it as appropriate as ever in the nineteenth

century: "And now it remains for the readers of his discourse, and of my reply, to judge which of the two breathes most of the spirit of the true God, of piety towards him, and of that truth which leads men by sound doctrine to the nobler life."

Arnobius (A.D. 303).

The only incident in the life of Arnobius, a professor of rhetoric at Sicca, in the vicinity of Carthage, recorded by Jerome, is the fact of his being "led by visions" to adopt the Christian faith; and the composition of his treatise *Against the Nations* (*Contra Gentes*) has been dated in the year A.D. 303, from the reference to "their meetings being cruelly broken up" during the terrible persecution which raged under Diocletian, at the instigation of his colleague Galerius. But as the defence of the new faith stands midway between the age of Origen and the Nicene Council, we must take a passing glance at his delineation of the Christian faith at the commencement of the fourth century.

Professedly the rhetorical professor takes up his pen to rebut the popular charges brought against the Christians of rousing the anger of the gods, and bringing calamities on the Roman Empire. But his seven books form a running fire and commentary on the origin, history, development, and influence of the Roman religion, and a triumphant laudation of Christian worship carried on, without the existence of temples, images, and sacrifices.

Three centuries had passed, and the new faith had asserted all the rights and liberties of an *imperium in imperio*—a religious institution which had undergone a

fiery baptism of popular opposition and successive persecutions under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, M. Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Maximus, Decius, Gallienus, and Valerian. Christians, in fact, had fought their way into all the civil and military offices in the Roman Empire, even to the governors of provinces, under Gallienus (A.D. 260). And if we may judge from the social state of Europe prior to the French Revolution (A.D. 1776), the old Roman faith had been shaken to its foundations, not only by the religious enthusiasm and enlightenment of the Christians, but also (as we showed) by the destructive criticisms of the Roman philosophers.

Hence we find Arnobius, designating his old friends "devotees of antiquated superstition," plying them with queries implying the utter oblivion of their primitive religious customs: "Do you watch the sky, or put an end to public business because evil omens are announced? When you are preparing for war, do you hang out a flag from the citadel, or practise the forms of the Fetiales solemnly demanding the return of what has been carried off? or when encountering the dangers of war, do you begin to hope also, because of favourable omens from the points of the spears? In entering an office, do you still observe the laws fixing the proper times? Do you maintain fires ever burning in gloomy sanctuaries? Do you consecrate tables by putting on them salt-cellars and images of the gods? When you marry, do you spread the couch with a toga, and invoke the genii of husbands? Do you arrange the hair of brides with the *hasta cælibaris?* Do you bear the maidens' garments to the temple of Fortuna Virginalis?" And again, reminding them of the progress of Christianity—"What say you, O ignorant men, for whom one might well weep and be

sad? Are you so void of fear that these things may be true which are despised by you and turned to ridicule? And do you not consider with yourselves, at least, in your secret thoughts, lest that which to-day with perverse obstinacy you refuse to believe true, may too late show to be true, and ceaseless remorse punish you? Do not even these proofs, at least, give you faith to believe, viz. that already there is no nation so rude and fierce that it has not changed, by his love subdued its fierceness, and with tranquillity hitherto unknown become mild in disposition? that men endowed with so great abilities—orators, critics, rhetoricians, lawyers, and physicians,—those, too, who pry into the mysteries of philosophy, seek to learn these things, despising those in which but now they trusted? that slaves choose to be tortured by their masters as they please, wives to be divorced, children to be disinherited by their parents, rather than to be unfaithful to the "Anointed," and cast off the oaths of the warfare of salvation? that although so terrible punishments have been denounced by you against those who follow the precepts of their religion, it increases even more, and a great host strives more boldly against all threats and terrors which would keep it back, and is roused to zealous faith by the very attempts to hinder it?"

We need scarcely state that the charge of bringing down the vengeance of heaven on the Roman Empire was easily swept away by reminding them of the occurrence of famine, pestilence, and wars before the existence of the Christian name; and when taunted with adopting a faith which sprang into existence only three centuries ago,—as Protestants are by Papists,—the rhetorician merely referred them to the beginning of their own under Numa Pompilius.

What are Christians, then, according to Arnobius, at the commencement of the fourth century? "We Christians are nothing else than worshippers of the Supreme King and Head under our anointed Master. If you examine carefully, you will find that nothing else is implied in that religion" (i. 27).

Now we know that all the eminent Roman and Hellenic philosophers concurred with the Christians on this fundamental doctrine of theology; and Arnobius himself was told by his friends, "You assail us with a groundless and calumnious charge, as if we deny that there is a deity of a higher kind, since Jupiter is by us both called and esteemed 'the best and the greatest;'" and on this point he treated them with unfairness in ascribing to them the popular belief in the deification of heroes, which they had rejected with as great contempt as our modern Puritans adoration of the "saints"—the spiritual successors and the equivalents of the Roman and Hellenic "lesser" gods.

No mystery whatever is attempted in the statement of the Christian faith regarding the new hero adopted as a "Son of God." "We worship one who was born a man. What then? Do you worship no one who was born a man? Do you not invoke the great Hercules himself by offerings, by victims, and by kindled frankincense—whom you yourselves allege to have been burned alive after his punishment, and to have been consumed on the fatal pyres? Further, Romulus himself, who was torn in pieces by the hands of a hundred senators, do you not call Quirinus Martius, and do you not honour him with priests and with spacious temples; and, in addition to all this, do you not affirm that he has ascended to heaven? Either, therefore, you too are to be laughed at who regard as gods men slain by the most cruel tortures; or if

there is a sure ground for your thinking that you should do so, allow us to feel assured for what causes and on what grounds we do this" (i. 41). Allow Arnobius and the Christians to worship God, the supreme king and head of the universe, through their anointed Master, as you Romans worship Romulus, the founder of the Roman State, and Hercules, the son of God! Mutual toleration! Gallienus the emperor does so. O Romans! will you not resolve to pass a *Senatus-consultum*, declare the Christian faith a *religio licita*, and live together in peace and harmony? One last fiery trial—another quarter of a century—and the successors of Arnobius will dictate their own terms to the defenders of the old faith of the Roman Empire.

The study of the remaining books of Arnobius would not only repay the student's labour, but furnish him with weapons to fight the old battle of the faith over again in the present day. Saving only the peculiar notion of his new faith, Arnobius was a Roman Agnostic, who refused to be fettered by the old cosmogonies and theogonies either of the East or West. "What business of yours is it, he (the 'Anointed') says, to examine, to inquire who made man; what is the origin of souls; who devised the cause of evils? I leave these things to God. Allow him to know what is, wherefore or whence; whether it must have been or not; whether something always existed, or whether it was produced at first; whether it should be annihilated or preserved, consumed, destroyed, or restored in fresh vigour. Your reason is not permitted to involve you in such questions, and to be busied to no purpose about things out of your reach" (ii. 61). "Your interests are in jeopardy—the salvation, I mean, of your souls; and unless you give yourselves to seek to know the supreme

God, a cruel death awaits you when freed from the bonds of body, not bringing sad annihilation, but destroying by the bitterness of its grievous and long-protracted punishment."

Demons there are who oppose the truth, and aid the sorcerers and conjurers of the age, and souls of every degree who never were created by the supreme God, nor made in his divine image—some Demiurgus or subordinate god, it might be. "Let this belief, so monstrous and impious, be put far from us—that God, who preserves all things, the origin of the virtues, and chief in benevolence, most wise, just, making all things perfect, and that permanently, either made anything which was imperfect and not quite correct, or was the cause of misery or danger to any being, or arranged, commanded, or enjoined the very acts in which man's life is passed and employed, to flow from his arrangement,—these things are unworthy of him, and weaken the force of his greatness; and so far from being believed to be their author, who ever imagines that man is sprung from him is guilty of blasphemous impiety,—man, a being miserable and wretched, who is sorry that he exists, hates and laments his state, and understands that he was produced for no other reason than lest evils should not have something through which to spread themselves, and that there might always be wretched ones, with whose agonies some unseen and cruel Power adverse to man should be gratified" (ii. 46).

Calamities inflicted on you by the supreme God on account of Christians! "Would you venture to say that in this universe this thing or the other thing is an evil, whose origin and cause you are unable to explain and to analyse? It is rather presumptuous, when you are not your own master—even when you are the property of

another—to dictate terms to those more powerful; to wish that should happen which you desire, not that which you have found *fixed in things by their original constitution.*"

Could a modern scientist, armed with the knowledge of the stellar and solar system, according to Copernican astronomy, spike the enemy's guns with greater skill? And we commend the concluding chapters, v. vi. and vii., to the special attention of all Broad Church, Nonconformist, and Independent theologians, who devote their talents to the gigantic task of stemming the tide of modern tendencies towards the restoration and protection of sacred places, persons, and periods, abolished by Arnobius in his satirical and witty assault on the Roman temples, images, and sacrifices. Really the battle-ground, strewed with the shattered relics and ruins of thousands of artistic edifices, old gods and goddesses, muses, graces, nymphs of every degree, and smoking incense, is rich in "morals," admonition, and instruction in righteousness. Can you really confound your celestial deities, male and female, with the images surrounded by æsthetic architecture? Are you quite certain they have not taken flight on an amorous tour, or to a voluptuous banquet, on the heights of cloud-capped Olympus?

"This one thing I ask above all: What reason is there, if I kill a pig, that a god changes his state of mind and lays aside his angry feelings and frenzy; that if I consume a pullet, a calf, under his eyes and on his altars, he forgets the wrong which I did to him, and abandons completely all sense of displeasure; what passes from this act to modify his resentment? or of what service is a goose, a goat, or a peacock, that from its blood relief is brought to the angry god? Do the gods, then, make

insulting them a matter of payment? and as little boys, to induce them to give up their fits of passion and desist from their wailings, get little sparrows, dolls, ponies, puppets, with which they may be able to divert themselves,—do the immortal gods in such wise receive the gifts from you that from them they may lay aside their resentment and be reconciled to those who offended them? And yet I thought that the gods—if only it is right to believe that they are really moved by anger—lay aside their anger and resentment, and forgive the sins of the guilty without any price or reward. For this belongs specially to deities, to be generous in forgiving, and to seek no return for their gifts" (vii. 8).

Systematic doctrines of atonement have not yet found a place in patristic theology.

But we cannot omit a patristic parable invented for the purpose of exposing the silly anthropomorphism of treating the gods to smoking carcases, and holding communion with them in the sacred temples of Rome.

"Lo! if dogs—for a case must be imagined in order that things may be seen more clearly—if dogs, I say, and asses, and along with them water-wagtails—if the twittering swallows and pigs also, having acquired some of the feelings of men, were to think and suppose that you were gods, and propose to offer sacrifices in your honour, not of other things and substances, but of those with which they are wont to be nourished and supported, according to their natural inclination—we ask you to say whether you would consider this an honour, or rather a most outrageous affront, when the swallows slew and consecrated flies to you, the water-wagtails ants; when the asses put hay upon your altars, and poured out libations of chaff; when the dogs placed bones and burned human excre-

ments at your shrines; when, lastly, the pigs poured out before you a horrid mess taken from their horrid hog-pools and filthy maws?—would you not in this case be inflamed with rage that your greatness was treated with contumely, and account it an atrocious wrong that you were greeted with filth?"

And, of course, his triumphant conclusion winds up with the purity and perfection of Christian worship: "True worship is in the heart, and a belief worthy of the gods; nor does it at all avail to bring blood and gore if you believe about those things which are not only far remote from and unlike their nature, but even to some extent stain and disgrace both their dignity and virtue." Query: Are the successors of Arnobius who have now attained the age of his Roman contemporaries, intoning long prayers, with splendid organs, gestures, and genuflections in the name of Jesus, surrounded with the presence of stained saints in æsthetic churches and Gothic cathedrals, quite certain that Almighty God is well pleased with such services acceptable to the eyes and ears of mortal worshippers? Anyhow, we cannot easily over-estimate the splendid service which Arnobius performed on the eve of their national recognition by Constantine the Great; but we cannot even affirm that he won the martyr's crown in the last persecution under the reigning emperors—Diocletian and Galerius.

Lactantius (A.D. 325).

Lactantius, the pupil of Arnobius, acquired a brilliant reputation as a professor of rhetoric, settled in Nicomedia at the request of the Emperor Diocletian, acted as the tutor of Crispus, the son of Constantine the Great, and

died at Treves, in Gaul, about A.D. 325. These are the only incidents of the life of Lactantius known to his biographers; and as he is the first apologist who followed in the footsteps of the Roman jurists and composed the *Divine Institutes* of Christianity, we must take some notice of them, more especially as he complains of the deficiencies of the Defences of Tertullian and Cyprian, and professes to furnish "the substance of the whole system," with distinctness and elegance of speech, "in order that it may flow with greater force into the minds of men," which gained him the title of the "Christian Cicero."

To him Cicero was "the greatest author of the Roman learning," and philosophers were the "teachers of right living." But as they were at variance amongst themselves, he was determined "to put an end to deadly superstition and disgraceful errors."

The *Divine Institutes* are divided into seven books—on the False and True Wisdom of Philosophers, the False and True Worship of God, Happy Life, etc. But as he founded his faith in the unity and providence of God on the same evidence and arguments as Cicero, Seneca, and the Roman philosophers, no repetition is necessary. And his conclusion is as considerate and cosmopolitan as Cicero himself on the Nature of the Gods. "For whether it be nature or æther, or reason or mind, or a fatal necessity, or a divine law, or if you term it anything else, it is the same which is called God" (i. 5). "In express terms, our God is the God of all men."

What, then, is the peculiar character of the philosophic Christianity of the tutor of the son of Constantine the Great?

"Some one may perhaps ask how, when we say we

worship one God only, we nevertheless assert that there are two—God the Father and God the Son—which assertion has driven many into the greatest error. For when the things which we say seem to be probable, they consider that we fail in this one point alone, that we confess that there is another God, and that he is mortal. We have already spoken of his mortality: now let us teach his unity. When we speak of God the Father and God the Son, we do not speak of them as different, nor do we separate each, because the Father cannot exist without the Son, nor can the Son be separated from the Father, since the name of the Father cannot be given without the Son, nor can the Son be begotten without the Father. Since, therefore, the Father makes the Son and the Son the Father, they both have one mind, one spirit, one substance. But the former is as it were an overflowing fountain, the latter as a stream flowing forth from it; the former as the sun, the latter as it were a ray extended from the sun" (iv. 29). And again: "With good reason is he called the 'Speech' and the 'Word' of God, because God, by a certain incomprehensible energy and power of his majesty, enclosed the vocal spirit proceeding from his mouth, which he had not conceived in the womb, but in his mind, within a form which has life through its own perception and wisdom, and he also fashioned other spirits and angels" (iv. 8). His whole form of expression is taken from his predecessor, Tertullian—Alexandrian, of course; but the "mortality" of the "second God" was the weak point in his system, according to the opinion of his old Roman friends and philosophers, who had renounced all "hero worship." And he does not even remind them that it is "like one of their own" Sons of God. No critic of the present day would listen to the

evidence taken from the Jewish prophets, Tresmegistus, and the Sibyls. Otherwise a more philosophical aspect is given to his exposition of the Christian faith on the eve of the Nicene Council: "The object proposed to man is therefore plain and easy if he is wise, and to it especially belongs humanity. For what is humanity itself but justice? what is justice but piety? and piety is nothing else than the recognition of God as a parent" (iii. 9).

No Roman philosopher would carp at such a definition of piety and humanity. On the other hand, the Jews themselves would question his account of Creation—the Son and the Devil, two contradictory and opposing principles, much like Ormuzd and Ahriman, with a human soul made of "fiery elements." "But the soul cannot entirely perish, since it received its origin from the Spirit of God, which is eternal"—and at birth, too, and not from the parent.

On one point the *Divine Institutes* are important; no dogma of substitutionary sacrifice for the sins of mankind has yet been formulated in the Christian Church.

"For that sacred and surpassing majesty requires from man nothing more than Innocence alone; and if any one has presented this to God, he has sacrificed with sufficient piety and religion" (vi. 1). Pardon is the natural consequence of repentance in the eyes of the common Parent of all mankind (vi. 13): "Whoever, therefore, has obeyed all these heavenly precepts, he is a worshipper of the true God, whose sacrifices are gentleness of spirit and an innocent life and good actions. And he who exhibits all these qualities offers a sacrifice as often as he performs any good and pious action. For God does not desire the sacrifice of a dumb animal, nor of death and blood, but of man and life"—therefore upon the altar of God, which is

truly very great, and which is placed in the heart of man, and cannot be defiled with blood, there is placed righteousness, faith, innocence, chastity, and abstinence. This is the truest ceremony: this is that law of God, as it is called by Cicero, illustrious and divine, which always commands things which are right and honourable, and forbids things which are wrong and disgraceful, and he who obeys this most holy and certain law cannot fail to live justly and lawfully" (vi. 24).

Delighted to the very last to find the "extraordinary and admirable" Cicero in his own company! Like some of his predecessors, "a common place of confinement" is provided for disembodied souls. Whether the passage referring to the translation of the empire was based on "the coming event" of the foundation of Constantinople, or the apocalyptic vision of John and the Sibyls, we know not; but the very idea of such an occurrence seems to have been overwhelming to the mind of the "Christian Cicero."

"And the cause of this desolation and confusion will be this, because the Roman name by which the world is now ruled (my mind dreads to relate it, but I will relate it because it is about to happen) will be taken away from the earth, and the government retire to Asia; and the East will again bear rule, and the West be reduced to servitude."

Be that as it may, one cannot resist an allusion to the striking historical parallel existing between the tutor of Crispus, the son of Constantine the Great, and the sweetness and light peculiar to the tutor of the son of the great and good prince, an adherent of the new faith, in our own day, three centuries after our Reformation:—

"To admire what is admirable, to adore what is

adorable, to follow what is noble, to remember any example of those graces, which have crossed an earthly pilgrimage, that have enlightened the darkness or cheered its dulness—that is the essence of religion. These bring before us the ideals of human nature. The perpetuation of these graces is the true apostolic succession; is the true identity of spiritual life; is the true continuity of the Christian Church; the true communion of saints" (Stanley).

Eusebius (A.D. 284-340).

The name of Eusebius, the first historian of the Christian Church, the friend of Constantine the Great, is not ranked amongst the fathers strictly so-called; but as he drew up the Creed of the Nicene Council, and was enrolled among the "saints," at least in the Gallican Church, we may safely regard him as a reliable authority on Christian theology at this period.

His birthplace and bishopric was Cæsarea, the seaport of Jerusalem, the home of Origen for several years, and the seat of the library of the fathers—specially of Origen, collected by Pamphilus, the philosophic presbyter, whose lifelong friendship he prized so highly—especially of Origen, we say, for his fast friend Pamphilus was the scholar of Pierius of Alexandria. And Eusebius wrote five books in defence of Origen—a fact which seems to account for his Alexandrian tendencies, and the adoption of the Logos-possession in his exposition of the mission of the Jewish "Anointed (Χριστὸς) of God." If the Christianity of Eusebius is not genuine, it at least sprang from the land of its birth; not only so, the whole Arian controversy was conducted beneath his very eyes. Theodotus

of Laodicea and Paulinus of Tyre united with him in interceding for the restoration of Arius, after his condemnation by Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria. He composed the formulæ of the creed; he sat at the right hand of Constantine the Great, and addressed the emperor in the name of the Council; sat at the imperial table in the palace of Nicomedia and Constantinople; received the account of the vision of the Cross; frequently delivered sermons and orations in his presence; wrote the life of the first Christian emperor, who took the new faith under his imperial patronage and protection. No bishop, then, can speak with greater authority on the subject than Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, the actual "father" of the creed of Christendom, which lies at the foundation of the national Churches of Europe and Britain. Hence Christians were entitled to speak of the standard of orthodoxy (the right opinion), and brand all departure from the Nicene Creed as heresy (personal choice) and heterodoxy (another opinion).

Before the accession of Constantine, however, a number of Palestinian Christians fell victims in the Diocletian and Licinian persecutions: his own friend Pamphilus lay two years in prison; but they mitigated the pains and penalties of imprisonment by the composition of the defence of Origen. The other works of Eusebius are a refutation of Hierocles of Nicomedia (who maintained that Apollonius of Tyana eclipsed Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, in the performance of miracles), as well as of Sabellius and Marcellus; the *Evangelic Preparation and Demonstration*, a reply to Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist; but, above all, his *Ecclesiastical History*. Divided as the Christian Church was under the Eastern and Western Empire, speaking the Latin and Greek languages,

into two great Arian and Athanasian parties, Eusebius could not escape from the charge of heterodoxy; and Jerome, who detested Origen and his Alexandrian theology, stigmatises him as "a ringleader of the Arian faction." But the real opinion of Eusebius was stated in his work on Sabellius: "As not inquiring into truths which admit of investigation is indolence, so prying into others where the scrutiny is inexpedient is audacity. Into what truths, then, ought we to search? Those which we find recorded in the Scriptures. But what we do not find recorded there let us not search after. For had the knowledge of them been incumbent on us, the Holy Spirit would doubtless have placed them there."

The fact, moreover, of his hesitation in adopting the term Homoousian (ὁμοούσιος = consubstantial, of the same essence), defining the nature of the soul of Jesus, inserted in the Nicene Creed by the Athanasian party, is well known. But when the meaning of the word was explained to him by the majority of the Council, he at last gave his consent, according to his own relation, in a letter addressed to his own diocese at Cæsarea. No wonder that Socrates, the historian, styled him ambiguous (διγλωττὸν): the task which both the Arians and Athanasians undertook lay "beyond the limits of human thought" and genius—the logical definition of the nature of the divine and human soul; a psychological problem now relegated to the region of insoluble and unknowable principles, ontology, and deontology—spiritual essence and ethical ideals.

Who could reconcile Moses and Jesus, Hebrew and Christian literature and history? Their hermeneutical method was faulty from the very foundation. Who could harmonise, by any possibility, the "Captain of the

Lord's host," the presiding genius of Palestine and Jahveh's people, common to Oriental faith, with Joshua (Jesus) the son of Joseph, the carpenter of Nazareth? And yet the false assumption runs through all the theological interpretation of Bishop Eusebius and the Christian teachers of the age. For what are the opinions of Bishop Eusebius regarding the sacred Scriptures, "the Christ of God," and Christianity? But as reference has already been incidentally made to his evidence regarding the sacred Scriptures of the Christians, we shall only briefly allude to them in this place.

The famous work from which we purpose to extract our replies to these questions is styled *Ecclesiastical History—i.e.* the history of the Christian Church from its foundation during the last three centuries; "the calamities that swiftly overthrew the whole Jewish nation;" the most eminent fathers and their writings; the leaders in the propagation of false opinion, the hostility of the nations, the martyrdoms, the successive persecutions, including an account of the Christian religion itself, which is not "a new and strange religion," —not "a recent and foreign production," but "the most ancient religion known;" that of the pious men that were connected with Abraham. The work is divided into ten books, and as his predecessor Hegesippus is lost, we are dependent on it for our knowledge of the state of the Christian Church at least, left unnoticed in the works of the "fathers;" *e.g.* (1) the accepted and disputed lives and letters of the Christian Reformer are expressly mentioned in the body of *Ecclesiastical History*, and (2) the adulteration of the sacred manuscripts, we learn, was frequently practised by heretical sects. "For this purpose they fearlessly lay their hands upon the Holy Scriptures,

saying that they have corrected them. And that I do not say this against them without foundation, whoever wishes may learn, for should any one collect and compare their copies one with another, he should find them greatly at variance among themselves. For the copies of Asclepiades will be found to differ from those of Theodotus. Copies of many you may find in abundance altered by the eagerness of their disciples to insert each one his own corrections, as they call them—*i.e.* their corruptions" (p. 203). Hence the necessity of the collation of scriptural manuscripts still further adulterated by monkish transcriptions, until the invention of the printing press—the successive recensions and emendations, translations, and revisions of the Hebrew, Greek, and modern texts in the present day.

One of the notablest facts recorded in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius is the notice of the Ebionites (poor), the original Nazarenes, or Galileans, "who cherished low and mean opinions of the Anointed" (Χριστὸς). "For they considered him a plain and common man, and justified only by his advances in virtue, and that he was born of the Virgin Mary by natural generation. With them the observance of the law was altogether necessary, as if they could not be saved only by faith in the Anointed and a corresponding life" (p. 101).

Some parties must have agreed with them, for they asserted that "all those primitive men, and the Apostles themselves, both received and taught these things as they are now taught by them, and that the truth of the gospel was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth Bishop of Rome from Peter" (p. 200).

All the patristic and glowing notions which had been attached to the coming Deliverer of the people by the

Jews—the second David who was to restore their national independence—sank into insignificance, and were buried in oblivion. No champion of the "lost sheep of Israel" was Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, now; the "friend of publicans and sinners, winebibbers and gluttons," boasts of a long pedigree, and his wonderful achievements run through the whole history of the Jewish nation, long past the "genesis" of creation—the Word and Wisdom in the bosom of the Almighty God. And we too no longer burn nor behead the disciples of "the one true God—look back on our reformers as "products of the age" of the renaissance and revival of learning, who entertained "low and mean opinions" of the Christian faith. But although actual apotheosis only survives in the canonisation of "saints" at Rome, hero worship is immortal!

The grand theme of Bishop Eusebius, however, was the triumphant ascension of the Christian faith to the throne of the Roman Empire, under Constantine the Great, and its recognition as "the most ancient religion known"—that of the pious men connected with Abraham. Can any one be surprised that the soul of Bishop Eusebius, who spent day after day with his firm friend Pamphilus in prison, and ministered consolation to dying martyrs, should have burst into prose poems and panegyrics on the "splendour of our affairs," on their "liberation from the oppression from the tyrant," final victory and elevation of the Christian faith?—so that now, what never happened before, the supreme sovereigns, sensible of the honour conferred upon them by him, spit upon the faces of idols, trample upon the unhallowed rites of demons, ridicule the ancient delusions of their ancestors, and acknowledge only the one and true God, the common

benefactor of all and of themselves. They also confess the Anointed, the Son of God, as the universal King of all, and proclaim him the Saviour in their edicts, inscribing his righteous deeds and his victories over the impious with royal characters in indelible records, and in the midst of that city which holds the sway over the earth.

"There was also one energy of the Divine Spirit pervading all the members, and one soul among all; one and the same ardour of faith, and one song of praise to the Deity."

But the trumpet-tongued panegyric on the building of the churches, addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre, should be recited aloud by any one who wishes to understand the powerful emotions which swayed the souls of the victorious Christians of the age. Their souls are the souls of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam on the shores of the Red Sea, with the hosts of the Roman Pharaoh at the bottom of the sea. The song is the Song of Moses and the Lamb, once slain, but now jubilant over all the tyrants and persecutors of the Roman Church; and Eusebius is the very angel of God himself, who took up a stone like a mill-stone and cast it into the sea, saying, "Thus with violence has the great city Babylon been thrown down, and shall be found no more at all." The vision of the seer is fulfilled with a vengeance.

Now for the Christianity of the triumphant bishop—what is it? The very same religion proclaimed by Paul, the Roman reformer, the faith of Abraham, the friend of God, dragged out of the Levitical institutions of Moses, which buried it out of sight 430 years later, and extracted from the hereditary and heterogeneous corruptions of the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenians of the age—no "new or strange doctrine," but, if the truth must be spoken, it is the "first and only true religion."

"That the nation of the Hebrews is not new, but honoured among all for its antiquity, is well known. The writings and literature of this nation concern ancient men, rare and few in number, but yet exceeding in piety, righteousness, and every virtue. And indeed, even before the flood there were some who were distinguished for their virtue; and after this others, both of the sons and posterity of Noah, among whom we would mention Abraham, celebrated by the Hebrews as the founder and progenitor of their nation. Should any one, beginning from Abraham and going back to the first man, pronounce those who had testimony of righteousness Christians in fact, though not in name, he would not be far from the truth. For as the name Christians is intended to indicate this very idea, that a man by the knowledge and doctrine of the Anointed is distinguished by modesty and justice, by patience and a virtuous fortitude, and by a profession of piety towards the one and only true and supreme God; all this was no less studiously cultivated by them than by us. They did not therefore regard circumcision, nor observe the Sabbath, neither do we; neither do we abstain from certain foods, nor regard other injunctions which Moses subsequently delivered, to be observed in types and symbols, because such things as these do not belong to Christians. But they obviously knew the Anointed of God, as he appeared to Abraham, communed with Isaac, spoke to Jacob, and that he communed with Moses, and the prophets after him, has already been shown.

Hence you will find these pious persons honoured with the name of "anointed," as in the following expression: "Touch not my anointed ones (my Christs) and do my prophets no harm." Whence we should plainly suppose that the first and most ancient religion known—that

of these pious men that were connected with Abraham—is the very religion lately announced to all in the doctrines of the Anointed" (p. 14).

Spirit, tone, and tendency, all harmonising with long series and *catena* of the Founder and fathers of the Christian religion, based on a profession of piety towards the one and only true and supreme God, by "a man distinguished by modesty and justice, by patience and a virtuous fortitude." That is the Christianity of Bishop Eusebius, the father of the Creed of the Nicene Council, which must be borne in mind in approaching its interpretation.

Again, what honours were conferred on the Founder of Christianity, the "Anointed (Χριστὸς) of God"? According to Bishop Eusebius, "No language is sufficient to express the origin, the dignity, even the substance and nature of the Anointed." And why? Because he and his bosom friend Pamphilus were lifelong students and defenders of Origen of Alexandria—the followers of Philo, and the Neo-Platonic Apollos and Clement, as is evidenced from the two chapters giving "a summary view of the pre-existence and divinity of our Master and Saviour, the Anointed Jesus." Hear himself on the incomprehensible nature of the "Word" and Wisdom of God, the very investigation of which he regarded as "audacity."

"For who but the Father hath thoroughly understood that Light which existed before the world was—that intellectual and substantial Wisdom, and that living 'Word' (Λόγος) which in the beginning was with the Father before all création and any production, visible or invisible, the first and only offspring of God, the prince and leader of the spiritual and immortal host of heaven, the angel of the mighty council, the agent to execute the Father's

secret will, the maker of all things with the Father, the second cause of the universe next to the Father, the true and only Son of the Father, and the Lord and God and King of all created things, who has received power and dominion, with divinity itself, and power and honour from the Father. All this is evident from the more abstruse passages in reference to his divinity—'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word (Λόγος) was God.' All these things were made by him, and without him nothing was made" (p. 3). And then follows the crowning of the Founder with all the glorious epiphanies (divine and angelic appearance), national genii, and guardian angels peculiar to the theology and history of the Jewish (as well as of the Persian) people. But the keen discussions of the subject at the Nicene Council led to the most exact definitions of the theological doctrine, as the following quotation from his letter explaining his conduct to the members of his Cæsarean diocese shows: "In forming this declaration of faith, we did not neglect to investigate the distinct sense of the expressions 'of the substance of the Father' and 'consubstantial with the Father,' whereupon much discussion arose, and the meaning of these terms was clearly defined, when it was generally admitted that οὐσίας (of the essence or substance) simply implied that the Son is of the Father indeed, but not as a part of the Father. . . . Consequently he is no creature like those which were made by him, but is of a substance far excelling any creature, which substance the sacred oracles teach us was begotten of the Father by such a mode of generation as can neither be apprehended nor explained by any creature" (Soc. *Eccles. Hist.*, B. I. chap. viii.).

Granting that no exception was taken by the Roman

Christians of the age of Constantine the Great to such a method of scriptural interpretation and exposition, are we bound to accept the Alexandrian speculations and theories regarding the "soul" of the Founder of Christianity? Certainly not. Philo the Jew, their common master, would have scouted the very idea of such a misapplication and perversion of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as of his doctrine regarding the "Logos-possession." But the subject comes before us once again at the Nicene Council.

Apart from all these Platonising and Philonising "spiritual ideals," Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, was regarded as "the Head of the Church." That was the plain prose of the astounding religious phenomenon of the age—the formulation of the Christian creed and the foundation of the Christian Church on a national or imperial basis.

Why did Bishop Eusebius preserve silence on the history of the Nicene Council itself? is a question not easily answered. According to all accounts, the furious passions which were roused on that grand occasion were never effaced from the minds of the members of the Council. One council was held to sit in judgment on the Sabellian heresy of Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, who was expelled from the Church; another at Tyre, to try the cause of Athanasius of Alexandria; and he himself refused to accept the episcopal throne of Antioch. Probably the stormy state of the new heavens and new earth never allowed him an opportunity to photograph the turbulent scenes exhibited at the creation and genesis of the new Christian world. And we need not be surprised that the Bishop of Cæsarea, who inherited the sacred literature both of the Jews and Christians, interspersed his *Ecclesiastical History* with a few questionable

miracles, signs, and wonders, accepted on the testimony of his predecessor. Most likely their total absence from his History would have been regarded as a marked sign of a want of interest on the part of Divine Providence: *e.g.* water turns into oil at the prayer of Narcissus for the use of his lamps in a case of necessity; a cow drops a lamb; the soul of Polycarp, the martyr, takes flight in the form of a dove to heaven; a dove lights on a bishop's head, in token of the divine call and election; and the whole body exclaimed, with all eagerness and with one voice, as if moved by the one Spirit of God, that he was worthy (*Dignus et justus est*). Dead men are still raised at the prayers of the saints; and the "Sacred Bread" of the common table of the Christians exerts a magic influence, and saves the soul of a dying saint. Notwithstanding the trifling credulity—perhaps the critical negligence—of the Bishop of Cæsarea, our warmest thanks are due to him as "the first ecclesiastical historian of the Christian Church."

Arius (died A.D. 336).

Arius, who led the opposition to Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria, in the controversy which bore his name, was a presbyter, about sixty years of age, at the Nicene Council (A.D. 325), and died at Constantinople A.D. 336. Only fragments of his writings have been preserved in Philostorgius, Theodoret, and Epiphanius; but as his opinions are identical with those of Eusebius, and will be frequently referred to, no further notice of him is required at this stage.

Athanasius (A.D. 298-373).

Athanasius, again, who assumed the leadership of the opposite party at the death of Alexander, was only a deacon, twenty-five years of age, at the Nicene Council, and owed his education to playing at baptism on the seashore, in front of the bishop's windows. The dwarfish deacon was a genuine Copt, with hooked nose, small mouth, short beard, large whisker, and light auburn hair, still found on Egyptian mummies, subtle and versatile, and gained distinction by his clever defence of his patron in the fierce discussions of the Council. The immediate consequence was his elevation to the See of Alexandria at that time, "the Head and Judge of the World." "At a distance from court, and at the head of an immense capital, the Patriarch of Alexandria had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate; and the Prefects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the imperial power of these Christian Pontiffs" (Gibbon, chap. xlvii.).

Athanasius thus stood at the head of the Coptic population, the national party in Alexandria, and was fortified by whole armies of the fanatical monks and hermits of his Egyptian diocese; the friend, too, and biographer of the notorious Anthony, the Egyptian Elijah, the man of God who gloried in leading the ass of his "Papa," on his episcopal visitations, to the caves of the desert. Paul, his companion, wished to be buried in his mantle, presented to Anthony as an assurance of communion with the great Athanasius. Ammonius, the monk, followed him to Rome, and threw himself into ecstasies at the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul. The Greek language was foreign to them, whereas the party of Arius belonged to the Im-

perialists, the bishops of the court, the two Eusebiuses, and Hosius of Cordova. Soon after the decision of the Council, Constantine turned in favour of his old friends, the Eusebiuses. Five times Athanasius suffered exile in his turn. Twenty years he herded with the hermits in Upper Egypt, and composed his works, which have survived until the present day, and been honoured with translation and notes by Cardinal Newman. Shortly before his death, Julian, the Apostate, despatched a letter to the Alexandrian prefect regarding the "meddling demagogue." "Though you neglect to write to me on any other subject, it is your duty to inform me of your conduct to Athanasius, the enemy of the gods. My intentions have been long since communicated to you. I swear by the great Serapis, that unless on the Calends of December Athanasius has departed from Alexandria—nay, from Egypt—the officers of your government shall pay a fine of one hundred pounds of gold. You know my temper; I am slow to condemn, but I am still slower to forgive. The contempt that is shown for all the gods fills me with grief and indignation. There is nothing that I should see, nothing that I should hear with more pleasure, than the expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt. The abominable wretch! the baptism of several Grecian ladies of the highest rank has been the effect of his persecution." But he died in peace, and reigns in the Romish heaven as Saint Athanasius, a Christian god! His chief works are *An Oration Against the Greeks, The Incarnation of the Logos, An Exposition of the Faith,* and a *Discourse against the Arians.*

Why, then, was he honoured with the title of the "Father of orthodoxy"? That title was conferred by Epiphanius, in his *History of Heresies* (A.D. 310-403).

Yet the Arian doctrine was professed by the imperial successors of Constantine until the death of Valens (A.D. 367-373). The fact is, however, that the Creed of the Nicene Council prevailed over all opposition, and all the subtle distinctions of the Alexandrian theology were buried in oblivion for ages. That subtle distinction which roused the Arian controversy was the definition of the "Logos-possession," so near akin to the opposite doctrine of "demoniacal possession" attempted by his Patristic predecessors; and the single step taken by Athanasius was the affirmation of the "unbegotten" union of the Almighty God with his divine offspring—the Word (Λόγος) or Wisdom. But we must give his own "exposition of the faith."

"We believe in one unbegotten (*ἀγέννητον*) God, Almighty Father, the Maker of all visible and invisible things, who is self-existent, and is the only-begotten Word (Λόγος), Wisdom, Son, begotten by the Father without a beginning, and from eternity. The Logos, indeed, not brought forth nor internal (*οὐ προφορικὸν, οὐκ ἐνδιάθετον*), not an effluence from perfection, not a section of our suffering nature, not a projection, but a Son, self-perfect, living, and working, the true image of the Father, equal in honour and glory" (Sec. 1).

That single epithet "unbegotten," applied to the Logos, is the turning-point of the whole Arian controversy—the new point of departure for Christian "orthodoxy;" and the rejection of the terms applied by Philo the Jew to the divine Word or Wisdom demonstrates his advance beyond his predecessors. The new doctrine is defended and illustrated in his *Oration to the Greeks* (Sec. 41); *On the Incarnation of the Logos* (Sec. 8); and in his *Discourse against the Arians, passim*, with

the same amount of allegorical adaptation and rambling application of Scripture as the Alexandrian fathers generally.

No further evidence is necessary on this point; and all the epithets which religious rancour and polemical vehemence could muster were henceforth heaped on his Arian opponents;—"devils, antichrists, maniacs, Jews, polytheists, atheists, dogs, wolves, lions, chameleons, hydras, eels, cuttle-fish, gnats, beetles, leeches,"—collected by Cardinal Newman himself. To crown all, the sudden death of Arius was a divine testimony directed against his "Monarchian" faith, according to the opinion of Athanasius; but it reappeared in the *Inquisitio de Fide* of Erasmus of Rotterdam, at the Protestant Reformation.

We need scarcely add that the cursing creed of Athanasius, which retained the sting attached to the original Nicene Creed, and still disfigures the Anglican Prayer-Book, has been voted a forgery.

CHAPTER IV.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT—THE NICENE COUNCIL—AND THE CREED OF ROMAN CHRISTENDOM.

HAVING thus ascertained the opinions of the fathers of the Eastern and Western Church—the representatives of Roman, Alexandrian, and Oriental Christianity during the lapse of the second, third, and fourth centuries—the formulation of the creed of Roman Christendom at the Nicene Council, held under the auspices of the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, now demands our

special attention;—for the Council was summoned for the express purpose of harmonising the clashing and conflicting creeds peculiar to the Christian bishops of Europe, Asia, and Africa,—Rome, Carthage, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, Nicomedia, and the furthest East. And the scene of the Council; the person and character of Constantine the Great; the members drawn from every corner of the empire; the long and stormy discussions; the Christian creed itself, with all its phrases and formulæ, which moulded and determined the religious thoughts and delusions of the modern communities of Europe and Britain, merit careful and considerate criticism. The value of the creed depends, to a great extent, upon its authors.

The city of Nikaia, in Asia Minor, was most probably selected on account of its vicinity and convenience to Nicomedia, the palace of the emperor; and the large building, raised for the reception of the Council, stood in the central square, with doors open to the four gates—and therefore called Mesomphalos, "the navel." Latterly, however, the meetings were held in the large hall of the palace. The towering stature and majestic mien of Constantine the Great—the conqueror of the "tyrant," their saviour and protector—robed in purple, and dazzling with precious stones, crowned with the imperial diadem of pearls, was the admiring gaze of the members, "as though he were an angel of God descended straight from heaven;" while on either side of the throne sat Bishop Hosius of Cordova, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, his Eastern and Western counsellors. Let us take a glance at the first Christian emperor, the living and visible Head of the Church; for the copy of the Holy Gospels was placed on a central throne, representative of the Founder himself.

What claim, then, has Constantine the Great as a religious authority? Like Cromwell or Napoleon the Great, during the course of our modern transitional age, the army hailed him with acclamations at his father's death at York (A.D. 306). The opposition of Maxentius and Licinius, his brother-in-law, was decided on the field of battle; the foundation of "a new capital, a new policy, and a new religion" was laid at Constantinople—*Roma Nova;* but the domestic intrigues and jealousies of Helena, the empress-mother, Faustina, the reigning empress, and Minerva, his first wife or concubine, overshadowed the brilliant glories of his reign, and closed with the judicial death of his son Crispus, young Licinius, and Faustina herself. But these imperial tragedies defy all critical investigation.

The very conversion of Constantine; the vision of the flaming cross in the heavens, with the motto, "By this conquer;" the imperial Labarum, or standard, constructed at the dictates of the "Anointed," who appeared in a dream, lies buried in the depths of tradition, legend, and superstition. His Edict of Toleration only extended the same right of existence to Christians as every other religion in the Roman Empire. The emperor was head of the Christian Church in *Roma Nova* (Constantinople); but he still retained the proud title of "Pontifex Maximus" in *Roma Antiqua*, on the banks of the Tiber, and graced the public games with his imperial presence. His statue in old Rome carried the emperor's spear, but the spear bore the form of a cross: while his statue in the Hippodrome of Constantinople was the image of his patron deity—the Sun-god, Apollo; and the glory of the sunbeams was composed of the emblems of the crucifix, and beneath it a fragment of the true Cross, as well as of the

ancient Palladium of Rome. On one side of the imperial coinage was inscribed the titles of the name of the "Anointed," while the obverse reflected the figure of the Sun-god, with the inscription, "*Sol invictus.*" The eagle of Jupiter—"Optimus Maximus"—flew across the Bosphorus to point out the spot of Roma Nova. Sopater, the Neo-Platonist, assisted at the ceremonies of the foundation and dedication of Constantinople; and the imperial founder followed his "Divine Guide" in marking out the walls of the future city of the Christian Cæsars with his spear—"*Jubente Deo.*"

His baptism was deferred to the very eve of his death, in accordance with the common Roman and Christian belief in the magic influence of the eucharist and expiation; and the first Christian emperor breathed his last in the "linen clean and white" of the saints. Saint, too, he was made by the Christians in Roma Nova—styled Isa-apostolos ("equal to the apostles"), and his body buried in the mausoleum of the Church of St. Peter, the Church of the Apostles, or the "Heröon" ("sacred to Heroes"). Prayer followed him to heaven, and miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb. But the Senate of old Rome enrolled him amongst the "gods," like the Cæsars and his father, offered incense before his statue, and celebrated festivals in his honour.

Such was the ambiguous personality, fortunes, and character of Constantine the Great at the dawn of Christian civilisation in Europe—the founder of a new capital, a new policy, and a new religion. Constantine adopted the new faith of Rome, and remained the Pontifex Maximus of the old Roman religion. So Napoleon the Great sought the sanction of the old faith of Europe in *Notre Dame*, at Paris, and claimed the intellectual liberty of a

French encyclopædist. Constantine preached in the most eloquent style to crowds in the palace of Constantinople; so did Cromwell, the Puritan, and his warlike Ironsides, in the camp and court of modern England. The body of Constantine was surrounded with the twelve Apostles, the fishermen of Galilee; the body of Napoleon rests in a sarcophagus in the Hôtel des Invalides, surrounded by classic figures; while the statue of Cromwell stands in the company of the crowned heads of England in the British Senate.

What does the reader think of the first imperial and visible "Head of the Christian Church"?—for we leave every student of history to form his own independent judgment. His new policy, political hierarchy, and legislation prove him to have belonged to a high class of organising minds. But we can only give his introductory speech in this place, which shows that he was grievously disappointed with the religious factions which tortured the living body of the Christian Church.

"It has, my friends, been the object of my highest wishes to enjoy your sacred company, and, having obtained this, I confess my thankfulness to the King of all, that, in addition to all my other blessings, he has granted to me this greatest of all. Let, then, no envious enemy injure your happiness; and after the destruction of the impious power of the tyrants, by the might of God, our Saviour, let not the spirit of evil overwhelm the divine law with blasphemies; for to me, far worse than any war or battle, is the civil wars of the Church of God; yes, far more painful than the wars which have raged without. As, then, by the assent and co-operation of higher power, I have gained my victories over my enemies, I thought that nothing remained but to give God thanks, and to rejoice

with those who have been delivered by us. But since I learned of your divisions, contrary to all expectations, I gave the report my first consideration, and praying that this also might be healed, through my assistance, I called you all together without delay. I rejoice at the mere sight of your assembly; but the moment I shall consider the chief fulfilment of my prayers will be when I see you all joined together in heart and soul, and determining on one peaceful harmony for all, which it should well become you who are consecrated to God to preach to others. Do not then delay, my friends; do not delay, ministers of God, and good servants of our common Lord and Saviour, to remove all grounds of difference, and to wind up by laws of peace every link of controversy. Thus will you have done what is most pleasing to the God who is over all, and you will render the greatest boon to me, your fellow-servant." We add the following sentence, illustrative of the conception formed of the Deity by the Christians of the age of Constantine familiar with the assumption of animal forms—the bull, gander, etc.—by the Roman "Father of gods and men," and the generation of sons and daughters of God: "A radiant dove alighted on the Virgin's bosom, and accordant with this impalpable union, purer than chastity, more guileless than innocence itself, were the results which followed."

Next—Was the body of the Council, consisting of 318 members, summoned by the emperor from all the leading races and languages of the Empire, entitled to great credit as religious authorities? Each bishop was invited, with two presbyters and three slaves. Let us note the deputies from their respective regions.

From Egypt came the aged Bishop Alexander, who provoked the controversy by his imprudent sermons, and bore

the title of "Papa" (Ab-aba=*pater patrum*) of Alexandria, at a time when his episcopal brethren were designated "Abba" (father). Along with him came the young and diminutive Athanasius, only a deacon, at the commencement of his tempestuous career. The tall and slender form of Arius, the presbyter, with his tangled locks, long coat, with short sleeves, distinguished the rigid ascetic, and head of the Arian party, who had set his doctrine to music in his *Thalia:* "God was not always Father. Once he was not Father; afterwards he became Father." Several of his fellow-presbyters and followers from Egypt accompanied him. To close the deputation from Egypt came a motley company of genuine Coptic hermits from the desert, the most famous among them, Paphnutius, from the upper Thebaid, like many of his fellows, with his right eye dug out with a sword, seared with a hot iron, and besides limping on his hamstrung leg.

Syria sent Eustathius of Antioch, "the city of God;" Macarius of Ælia Capitolina (Jerusalem); James of Nisibis, who browsed on roots and leaves like a wild beast, and like a wild beast clad himself in a shaggy coat of goat's hair, denned in a cavern of the mountains, and awed the people by rumours of turning a washerwoman's hair white, and raising an army of gnats against the Persians; and lastly, "John the Persian" from beyond the frontier, styled the "Metropolitan of India."

The Bishops of Nikaia, Chalcedon, and Ephesus were headed by Eusebius of Nicomedia, the friend and relation of Constantine, who administered baptism to him at the hour of death, and was credited with wonder-working—all able and determined defenders of Arius. Alexander and Acesius, "the Puritan," came from Byzantium, not yet christened Constantinople; and Spyridion, the simple

shepherd of Cyprus, who defeated the tricks of his brethren to prevent his arrival, by miraculously attaching the decapitated heads of his mules to the wrong bodies!

The Nicene Council was a Council of the Eastern Church; but Spain, Italy, and Carthage also sent a few representatives of the Western Church. Hosius of Cordova, Nicasius from France, Marcus from Calabria, Capito from Sicily, Eustorgius from Milan. Domnus of Stridon in Pannonia, and Theophilus the Goth, the predecessor and teacher of Ulphilas, the translator of the Scriptures, from the north; Caecilian of Carthage; Victor and Vincentius, in the stead of the aged Sylvester, from Rome itself. Ten members only out of "the 318" came from the Western Church, and the result of their deliberations was a Greek creed, and the creed of the Eastern, "the Greek Church," to the present day.

Such were the leaders of religious thought and opinion who assembled from the Eastern and Western Church of young Christendom at the Nicene Council. Little is known of Bishop Alexander, who provoked the controversy. Only fragments of Arius remain. The fiery and polemical treatises of Athanasius, however, are voluminous, and the ecclesiastical history and works of Eusebius of Cæsarea are well known. These are virtually the "fathers" who created the creed of the Nicene Council. The mere presence of the nameless and motley assemblage of fanatical hermits, martyrs, confessors, and wonder-workers counts for nothing.

Now for the Creed of Christendom. The grand topic of controversy requiring the mediation of the Council was the rank and dignity of the Founder of Christianity, discussed by the Arian and Athanasian parties in Alexandria. For Athanasius assumed the leadership on the

death of Bishop Alexander, and no attentive reader of our historical survey can halt between the two opinions on this subject. "The wicked race that put the Saviour to death" was not represented. Accordingly Jewish Monotheism, the pure and simple faith in one God, fell into the background. The very celebration of the passover on Sunday, in fact, like the Jews, was regarded as an "impious absurdity," so strong was the detestation of the Jewish race in the minds of the Christian bishops; and the Galileans, Nazarenes, or Ebionites were classed as "heretics" by Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian. Two presbyters came from Rome, but no record exists of their defence of the Roman Christianity of Paul, Clement, or Minucius Felix. Cæcilian hailed from Carthage, but, so far as we know, he never cried for Tertullian, "Give me the Master" (*Da magistrum*), like his predecessor Cyprian. Hosius of Cordova stood high in the estimation of Constantine, but we only know that common report credited him with theological learning. The consequence was the discussion of the controversy fell into the hands of the critical and speculative Alexandrian and Asiatic theologians. Worse still, the very report of their fiery debates is lost, and only scraps preserved in the pages of the later historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. How many hermits, martyrs, and confessors—Spanish, Scythian, Gothic, and Oriental—deserving of all honour on account of their sincerity and steadfastness in the faith, could thread their slippery way through the psychological problems of the schools of Alexandria and Antioch, "the city of God"? Sometimes the simple-minded child of the desert, puzzled with the classic distinctions of the animal, (σὰρξ) human (ψύχη), and divine souls, crowned with the "Logos-possession" ascribed to the Founder of Chris-

tianity, stood up with his sightless eye-socket and cried out: "The Anointed and the apostles left us not a system of logic nor a vain deceit, but a naked truth to be guarded by faith and good works." Sometimes roars of laughter greeted Spyridion of Cyprus, the shaggy shepherd, suffering from deformity and mutilation during the persecution, and the simple Gospel burst from his heart: "In the name of the Anointed Jesus hear me, philosophers. There is one God, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, who made all things by the power of his 'Word,' and by the holiness of his Holy Spirit. This 'Word,' by which name we call the Son of God, took compassion on men for their wandering astray, and for their savage condition, and chose to be born of a woman and to converse with men, and he shall come again to judge every one for the things done in life. These things we believe without curious inquiry. Cease therefore the vain labour of seeking proofs for as against what is established by faith, and the manner in which these things may be or may not be; but if thou believest, answer at once to me as I put my questions to you." And the irresistible power of simplicity and earnestness triumphed over all arguments and speculations. So it was with all the impenetrable "mysteries" of the Trinity, proposed and discussed for the first time in a public assembly of Christian bishops, and perpetuated in the pictures of the Council to this day.

The simple soul took a brick—"You deny that three can be one. Look at this; it is one, and yet it is composed of the three elements of fire, earth, and water." As he spake, the brick resolved itself into its component parts; the fire flies upwards in Spyridion's hands, and the water fell to the ground.

To such a pitch of fury and ferocity was the debate carried, that Nicolas, Bishop of Myra, dealt a blow at the face of Arius, and has been immortalised in that attitude in the pictures of the Council. But one version of the story brings down the "Captain of Salvation," "who was not ashamed to call them brethren," in the company of the sainted "Mother of God," to restore him the gospel and pall.

One creed signed by eighteen Arians was torn to pieces, and Arius himself was removed from the assembly; but the creed which was finally adopted was presented by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, as a creed which he had learned in his youth in Palestine; and the sole epithet on which the controversy turned—Homoousian (consubstantial, or of the same essence or substance)—was inserted at the instance of the Athanasian party, while Eusebius and his friends interpolated a single *i* (iota), and rendered it Homoiousian (of like substance). But the creed of Eusebius was not retained in its integrity. "The first-born of creation"—a Scripture phrase—was omitted altogether, and fixed in its latest form at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 431. Here is a copy of the creed adopted at the Council, with the omissions which have since taken place within brackets [ ]:—

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, both visible and invisible; and in one Lord (κύριος = master) the Anointed Jesus, the Son of God, begotten of the Father [only begotten, that is to say, of the substance of the Father, God of God]; Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made [both things in heaven and things in earth]; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down, and was made

flesh, and was made man; suffered, and rose again on the third day; went up into the heavens, and is to come again to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost. [But those that say, 'there was when he was not,' and 'before he was begotten he was not;' and that 'he came into existence from what was not;' or who profess that the Son of God is of a different 'person' or 'substance,' or that he is created, or changeable, or variable, are anathematised by the Catholic Church]."

Before passing to the creed, we shall take a summary view of the *catena* of the Christian "fathers" who furnished contributions to the ground-plan and basic skeleton of the Christian faith, carried into completion by their scholastic successors during the middle ages of Christendom. Two of their number, the Roman Clement, and the author of the Clementine *Recognitions*, we claim as pure Jewish or Roman Christians, who regarded the Founder of Christianity as the "True Prophet," anointed of God, for the fulfilment of his divine mission; for Paul himself designated him "the minister of the circumcision only." Five more—Tertullian, M. Felix, Athenagoras, Arnobius, and even Augustine himself—we place in the catalogue of Roman Christians who more or less candidly and decidedly declare the Founder of Christianity to be a "second God," like Hercules and other Roman sons of Jupiter. And eleven—Diognetus, Hermas, Barnabas, Justin, Tatian, Theophilus, Alexandrian Clement, Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Lactantius, and Arius—we class as Alexandrian Christians, because they adopted the Alexandrian, Apollonian, or Philonian theory of the "Logos-possession" in speaking of the Founder of the Christian faith.

The whole class are unanimous in maintaining the unity and supremacy of God—Monotheism—in common

with the Jews and Jewish Christians; and the sole difference which exists between the Roman and Alexandrian "fathers" arises from adopting the theory of deification or apotheosis, or the "Logos-possession." Both parties recognise the Founder of Christianity as a new or "second God" in reply to the arguments of their opponents. The Eusebians and Arians defended the "Monarchian" theory, which yielded the first place to the Supreme God and Father, and only the second to the Son—or the "True Prophet," filled with the "Spirit of God above measure." But the majority of the votes in the Nicene Council was given in favour of the equality of the Father and the Son—or rather the "consubstantiality" of the "Spirit of God" and the Spirit of the Founder, by the insertion of the new term—"Homoousian" (ὁμοούσιον), of the same essence or substance.

Now, then, what did the majority of the Nicene Council really mean by their vote? Eusebius of Cæsarea—a profounder scholar than the young deacon Athanasius—we know, remained a staunch supporter of the Alexandrian theory; so did Constantine the Great, and the imperial family. The new term of Athanasius landed him in a pure contradiction and inconsistency—a belief in the "unbegotten" (ἀγέννητον) and "begotten" God: one thing is certain, the vote of his fanatical followers led to the compromise adopted at the Nicene Council, for both Homoousian and Homoiousian (ὁμοιούσιον = of like substance) parties boasted of victory, and fought the battles of the faith over the "difference of a diphthong." Controversies waged on theological niceties, however, cannot surprise the student of "transubstantiation" and "consubstantiation"—delusions both of them, according to modern Protestantism. How many members of the

Nicene Council were familiar with the history and development of the Alexandrian theory of the "Logos-possession?" Not one ecclesiastic in a thousand even yet can thread his way through the mystic mazes of this profound and complicated "mystery" of the faith. But the successive steps of the development of opinion on this theological topic may now be retraced with a fair amount of attention, and enrolled amongst the *loci communes*, the common-places of "dogmatic" theology.

(1) The fundamental idea of the Galilean disciples was the restoration of national independence under the leadership of Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee; (2) after his martyrdom they still cherished the hope of his return to accomplish his national mission; (3) the adoption of the Roman Empire as the successor of the Jewish "kingdom of God," or government of the world, however, led to the rejection of the restoration of Israel by Paul, the Roman reformer; (4) his beloved brother Apollos (Hebrews) arrived at the "city of the living God," Mount Sion—a "kingdom which could not be shaken"—the assembly of the spirits of just men made perfect in the Christian brotherhood; (5) the first expression of the Alexandrian idea was taken from the Hebrew "Proverbs"—"The Lord possessed me (Wisdom) in the beginning of his way, before his works of old, before ever the earth was" (Prov. viii.); (6) the next expression was employed by the author of the Alexandrian "Book of Solomon"—the motto of this volume (vii. 26); (7) the same phraseology was freely used by Philo, the Jew of Alexandria, in his works; (8) and applied by the Alexandrian Apollos to the Founder of Christianity (Heb. i. 3); (9) the disciples of the school of John, at Ephesus, placed it at the head of the "Spiritual

Gospel" (John, chap. i.); (10) and the successive Alexandrian "fathers" adopted the theory in their flattering representations, which culminated in the final deification of the Founder of Christianity resting on the misapplication of a metaphor—the personification of the divine "Word" or Wisdom.

The bare mention of a "second God" would have been branded as polytheism and idolatry by a pure Jew—Philo. The "fathers," in fact, were taunted with polytheism on this very point. But "the wicked race who crucified Jesus" were excluded from the Nicene Council, and Athanasius charged the Arians with "shutting themselves up in the belief of the present Jews,"—a sure sign of divergence from pure Monotheism.

The idea was no novelty to the Greek "fathers," who bowed before the image of divine "Wisdom" (σοφία) in the Athenian Parthenon (Virgin's house)—Pallas Minerva, who sprang from the head of Zeus (Dyaus-piter = Father of light). The very same phrase could be adopted in the new faith and environment; and the new Anointed (Χριστὸς) of God became "the Light which lightens every man who comes into the world,"—the "divine image" and reflection. Hence Tertullian can reason—"Even when the ray is shot from the sun, it is still part of the parent mass; the sun will still be in the ray, because it is a ray of the sun, and there is no division of substance, but merely an extension. Thus the Anointed is Spirit of Spirit and God of God, as light of light is kindled,"—the very words of the Creed of the Nicene Council.

Much the same idea, also, was familiar to the minds of the Greeks and Romans, as well as the Jews and Orientals, viz. the Divine Spirit which seized and "took possession" of the minds of the prophets in the utterance of the

"oracles" and "will of God." Still further, the popular belief in "demoniacal possession" was the religious counterpart and complement of the Divine or "Logos-possession." Demons—nothing but demons, took possession of men's souls—inflamed their passions, and tormented their bodies with endless diseases; whereas the "Divine Wisdom" took possession of Jesus and his disciples—drove out demons and diseases at his word.

And all the speculations of the philosophers regarding the nature of "Souls" paved the way for their theological conclusions adopted at the Council. No slight diversity of opinion existed on the nature of the human soul amongst the Greek and Roman fathers, and members of the Council. To the Roman as well as the Greek, however, the soul was a "divine particle"—a "fiery element"—æther, or "vital spark of heavenly flame;" and to any simple-minded Christian who read the "Word of God," in the "Genesis" of the Sacred Scriptures, it was a "living soul" breathed into the body by the Spirit of the Almighty Creator of the heavens and earth.

"You yourselves ascribe such excellence to the intellectual soul, which is after all the human soul, that you maintain that it can become con-'substantial' with the intelligence of the Father, which you believe in as the Son of God"—is the language of Augustine addressed to Porphyry and the Neo-Platonists, who claimed spiritual absorption, and transcendental union with the Deity. What incredible thing is it, then, if some one soul be assumed by him in an ineffable (unspeakable) and unique manner for the salvation of many"? Very good pleading, Divus Augustinus, for an old Rhetorician! If Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Plotinus, the Neo-Platonists of Alexandria, can attain "consubstantial" union and

assimilation to the "Divine Intelligence" in their transcendental "ecstasies,"—why should not the Christian God "assume" the Founder of Christianity into Homoousian union with his divine nature? Why not? But that is the very point at issue between the Eusebian, Arian, and Athanasian parties of the Nicene Council.

The Eusebians were acute enough to remind the members of the Council (as we learn from a passage in Theodoret) that the souls of all men were divine: "We are also of God—we are the image and glory of God," referring to the Mosaic account of the creation of man (Theod. *Eccles. Hist.*, B. I. 8).

The whole subject referred to the Nicene Council was a psychological problem regarding the nature of the divine and human soul, "beyond the limits of human thought," and the vote of the numerical majority a baseless blasphemy and daring assumption. What else could have been anticipated from a herd of fanatical monks "browsing on leaves and denning in the caves of the Egyptian desert"—simple shepherds and wonder-workers, flinging themselves at the tombs of the martyrs, and crying to them in heaven as Christian gods!

Surely, however, the reduction of the 30,000 gods and goddesses crowding the old Pantheon of Greeks, Romans, and Orientals to three, deserves a hearty vote of thanks from modern Protestants! Be it so, then: but leave us in possession of the pure creed of Christians, "without note or comment"—Love to God and man—

> "That God, which ever lives and loves—
> One God, one law, one element,
> To which the whole creation moves,"

preached by the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee and Paul, the Roman reformer.

Twenty canons were also drawn up for the regulation of ecclesiastical government; and one of these, on Marriage, shows that priestly celibacy had already crept into the Church. But when the proposal of separating the married clergy from their wives was made, Paphnutius, the Egyptian hermit and confessor with the one eye, roared out: "Lay not this heavy yoke on the clergy. 'Marriage is honourable to all, and the bed undefiled.' By exaggerated strictness you will do the Church more harm than good. All cannot bear such an ascetic rule. The wives themselves will suffer from it. Marriage itself is continence. It is enough for a man to be kept from marriage, after he has been ordained, according to the ancient custom; but do not separate him from the wife whom once for all he married when he was still a layman." And the Eastern Church now almost enjoins marriage on all the clergy before ordination, without permitting it afterwards; while the Western Church enforced clerical celibacy, with the well-known consequence of concubinage and Papal nepotism.

The history of the Nicene Council could not have been written without the information derived from the three ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret —two lawyers and a bishop—who continued the work of Eusebius during the following century; and every reader ought to acquaint himself with the parts which the succeeding emperors and ecclesiastics of the Eastern and Western Churches played in the development and exposition of the Nicene Creed. For the examination of the conflicting creeds and councils will neutralise the slightest tendency to place any credit on the mere authority of the fanatical and superstitious defenders of ancient Christianity—only too necessary in an age which requires to

throw its old "idols" to the moles and bats of hoary antiquity; and the prodigious catalogue of astounding marvels and miracles, which start up at every step in the course of development, must ultimately produce a wholesome fit of laughter, and prove a source of amusement and efficacious cure for the love of Patristic literature.

Let every one read and ponder the state of mind of Constantine and the Christian people, who turned the nails of a cross found in the ruins of Jerusalem into bridle-bits for his horse; practised the adoration of the sacred wood; believed that the dying and dead leaped to life at its touch; that demons and diseases were driven out at the tombs of the saints; that lions carried loads; celestial spirits guarded the walls of besieged cities; and burning furnaces refused to burn boys with "the holy fragments of the immaculate body of Christ in their stomachs," etc. (*Evagrius*).

We have already seen that the Sabbath, like all popular festivals, was kept as a day of rejoicing by the Christians; and the considerate and beneficial legislation of Constantine on the same subject was no doubt consistent with the teaching of the Church. "Let all the judges and citizens, and tradesmen of all kinds, rest on the day of the Sun. Let all men, however engaged in the cultivation of the soil in the country, freely and legally perform their duties, since it frequently happens that the seed cannot be sown, nor the vines, . . . on any other day, and the opportunity provided by the kindness of heaven be lost" (*Corp. Jur. Civ. Cod.*, lib. iii. tit. xii. 3).

The very same spirit animated our Protestant Reformers in the sixteenth century; for Cranmer (in his Visitation Articles) expressly declares that God would be grievously offended if the people abstained from their labours in the harvest season. And the law of Edward VI.,

drawn up under the reformer's superintendence, allows "all persons to work, ride, or follow their calling, in case of need." Accordingly, we can only ascribe the rigid rules of later practice to the Pharisaic Puritanism which "made the commandments of God of no effect by their traditions."

Imperial banquets, congratulations, and farewell speeches wound up the tedious and stormy sessions of the memorable Nicene Council, which had sat from May to August, A.D. 325. James of Nisibis saw angels round Constantine the Great, and Constantine saw angels ministering to James of Nisibis, in the midst of the concluding festivities. And the conversation of Constantine with old Acesius, "the Puritan" from Byzantium, clinches the moral of the religious assembly, whose members returned to the national churches in every city of the Roman Empire, with a new creed of faith and good works wrapped in twenty canons and endless delusions. "Why do you still remain separate from the communion of the Church?" "None," said Acesius, "who, after baptism, have sinned the sin which the divine Scriptures call the sin unto death, have a right to partake in the divine mysteries. They ought to be moved to perpetual repentance. The priests have no power to forgive them—only God, who alone has the right to pardon sins." "Ho! ho! Acesius; plant a ladder and climb up to heaven by yourself," was Constantine's humorous reply.

Thank heaven, the louder voice of Paul, the Roman reformer, rises above the transient storm of the Nicene Council: "I speak to wise men, judge you. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." Cannot every modern Protestant plant his own ladder, and climb up to his own heaven?

Subscription followed, and, *mirabile dictu!* even by two dead members of the Council, who attached their names to the volume left at the tomb during the course of the night. Nay, more, some thought that the Holy Spirit himself was present to guide their deliberations, in the form of one of the bishops; for, when they rose up to be called over, the numbers never would come right, and the last of the series always turned into the likeness of his neighbour! The language of Athanasius gives expression to the general satisfaction at the conclusion of the Council: "The word of the Lord which was given at the Ecumenical Council endureth for ever!" Tradition adds that the sacred spot was commemorated by a spring which burst out in the centre of the building. But religious uniformity was not secured by the decrees of the Council. Eusebius of Nicomedia, as well as Arius and his Alexandrian friends, were deposed, banished, and recalled before the close of the Council, and actually attached their names to the creed—no doubt, like Eusebius of Cæsarea, with explanations and reservations. Arius himself was soon cut off, either by sudden death, disease, or poison; and Athanasius boasted of the fatal episode as a divine judgment, and a sufficient refutation of the Arian heresy. But Arianism survived until A.D. 600, and the nominal conversion of our Gothic ancestors; burst out again in the form of Socinianism in Italy at the Reformation; inspired the Platonists and latitudinarians of Cambridge; and is now dissolving, in the light of modern criticism, into pure Theism, and Agnosticism peculiar to Pauline and Roman theology.

Jerome (A.D. 331-420).

There are two fathers who bulked largely in the eyes of mediæval theologians and system-builders, and lie at the basis of our fossil theology—we refer to Jerome and Augustine. But as the only work of Jerome worthy of notice is the Latin translation of the Scriptures termed the "Vulgate," we need not stir the dust of the patron of Monachism in his retreat at Bethlehem, in company with the wealthy ladies who fled from the luxuries and gaieties of the capital, and devoted the remains of their shattered lives to a round of penance and piety.

Augustinus (A.D. 354-430).

The foundation-stones of the theological system laid by "Divus Aurelius Augustinus," however, were accepted by our mediæval "Scholastics," seized by John Calvin for the erection of his *Institutes*, and cannot be neglected in studying the future development of the Nicene Creed.

His life is better known to us than any of his patristic predecessors, from his own autobiography, the *Confessions;* but we cannot stop to compare his "Phases of Faith" with those of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Hume, Gibbon, Newman, Mill, and Renan, given in their autobiographies in our parallel period. Like the great majority of the later fathers, he sprang from North Africa, Thagaste, lectured on Rhetoric in Carthage, Rome, and Milan; neutralised the doctrines of all the philosophers of Greece and Rome by exposing their endless contradictions; adopted the new faith—the faith of his Christian mother, Monica—at the intimation of an incidental "voice," *Tolle et Lege*—("Take it and read it")—and the

Virgilian lots, at thirty-three years of age. "Take it and read it" fell on his ears from a window as he was fluctuating between the old and new faith; and he accepted the "heavenly voice," just as Paul did the thunderstorm, and confirmed it by opening the Scriptures at the passage, which he received as a condemnation and "divine judgment" on his conventional and fashionable life of Roman concubinage (Rom. xiii. 13). His moral reaction in the laudation of Virginity betrays the unwholesome influence of Oriental speculation and the popular tendencies to monasticism, so thoroughly alien to Roman common-sense and moderation.

Three or four years were spent in preparatory studies with a few friends in retirement, at the end of which he was ordained presbyter, and afterwards Bishop of Hippo at forty-one, where he resided until his death at seventy-six years of age.

The famous work—*Civitas Dei* ("*The City of God*")—on which his fame chiefly rests, was commenced in A.D. 413, three years after the siege of Rome by Alaric the Goth, to defend Christianity from the popular charge of bringing down calamities on the Empire, and published by instalments until A.D. 426; and we can only refer to his voluminous commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures, sermons, and essays on Christian doctrine.

His numerous works form a monument of Hebrew, Hellenic, and Roman philosophy and religion—the rich and fertile mine, in fact, from which all later theologians extracted their scholastic systems of Christian doctrine. But what is the amount of their dogmatic value to us in the nineteenth century? Father after father had demonstrated the folly of the Romans ascribing the calamities of the Empire to the toleration of the Christians; and

Augustine found it a very easy task to repeat the stock arguments of his predecessors, and point to the endless dissensions of their own philosophers on religious topics.

Ten books are devoted to these subjects, eight more to the history of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, and the four last to the future state of Christians as well as non-Christians. True, the whole train of thought adopted in the first ten can easily be adapted for the purpose of silencing the presumption of Christians in the present day who profess to interpret the policy of the divine government of the world. "The gods are hard to reconcile." Still no Sociologist would venture to accept his philosophy of history, with all its allegorical and fallacious interpretations and expositions from Genesis to Revelation; and his Eschatology, or *Last Things*, fluctuates between the literal, allegorical, and spiritual interpretation of the irreconcilable array of the parables and apocalyptic visions of the Founder and fathers of Christianity.

Inspired as he was by the lost *Hortensius* of Cicero, the philosophers of Greece, Rome, and Alexandria are treated with the greatest respect and admiration: "If Wisdom is God, who made all things, as is attested by the divine authority and truth, then the philosopher is the lover of God." Accordingly the most liberal definition of Christianity comes from Augustine.

"Whatever philosophers therefore thought concerning the supreme God, that he is both the Maker of all created things, the light by which things are known, and the good in reference to which things are to be done; that we have in him the first principle of nature, the truth of doctrine, and the happiness of life; whether these philosophers may be more suitably called Platonists, or whether

they may give some other name to their sect; whether we say that only the chief men of the Ionic school, such as Plato himself and they who have well understood him, have thought thus; or whether we also include the Italic school on account of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, and all who may have held like opinions; and, lastly, whether also we include all who have been held wise men and philosophers among all nations, who are discovered to have seen and taught this, be they Atlantics, Libyans, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Chaldeans, Scythians, Gauls, Spaniards, or of other nations—we prefer them to all philosophers, and confess that they approach nearer to us (*Civ. Dei.* lib. viii. ch. 8).

Faith in the supreme God—the source of intellectual light and moral goodness—approximates the most enlightened philosophers to the Christian faith; and his contemporary, Jerome, admitted that the Stoics "agreed with the Christians in almost every respect."

Further: the soul is not a part of God (xi. 22). No nature is evil in itself; it is only a transient deviation of the will of man—a loss of goodness (*amissio boni*)—a defect, not an effect (*defectio, non effectio*). Every man is endowed with free-will—the very soul of human responsibility. Predestination is only the expression of his belief in divine providence. But he must be regarded as the father of the theory of hereditary original sin, converted into baptismal regeneration at a later date, and removed by the Christian rite of immersion (xxi. 16). The true altar is still the altar of the human heart. The living sacrifice and reasonable service of the whole life, demanded by Paul, is still the "true and perfect sacrifice" (x. 6). Forgiveness of sins is still dependent on prayer and repentance (xxi. 27); and his doctrine of the Chris-

tian "incarnation"—the "Word" made flesh—does not differ one jot or tittle from his immediate predecessor (x. 29). The founder of Rome and the Christian "Kingdom of God" are brought into close comparison, and the allowance of the apotheosis made in express terms: "The former city loved its founder, and therefore believed him to be a god; the latter believed Christ to be God, and therefore loved him" (xxii. 6).

Proportionate rewards and punishments are regulated for the heaven and hell of "Divus Augustinus." Some saints may be prayed for and some saints may be prayed to, and even saved by a "taste of fire" in the future state. But the souls of infants—he had only one boy, Adeodatus ("God-given"), who came by mistake, and contrary to his arrangement with his concubine—are only to suffer the first, and not the second and penal death.

In conclusion: numerous miracles collected from the gossip of his own diocese—exorcism, paralysis, blindness, lameness, cancer, gout, stone, a suit of clothes in answer to prayer at the tomb of the martyrs, and even a resurrection—were repeated by the credulous and eloquent old man for the purpose of demonstrating the truth of Augustine's edition of the new faith.

His critical commentaries and theological essays are only literary expansions of his *magnum opus.* It served its purpose during the "ages of faith." It is a theological fossil now. If any student wishes to meet with a type of the modern ecclesiastic fighting the battles of the faith with the shackles of "councils" on his soul, let him read and ponder his 67th Homily on the Founder lately voted of the "same substance" as God the Father—at one time asking his African flock, "Pray for me," at another asserting the subject is "inexplicable," and twist-

ing and torturing the plain phrases of the Old and New Testament into new senses in support of the latest doctrine published by the Nicene Council.

I have now concluded the analysis of the Reformation of Judaism and the Roman Empire, or the genesis of Christianity, as well as of the pure Theism and morals of the Roman philosophers, and shown—(1) That six editions of Galileanism and Christianity issued from several centres of religious distribution, according to the lives and letters of the Christian reformers; (2) that various elements of the Jewish, Roman, Alexandrian, and Oriental religions were blended in the works and systems of the Greek and Roman fathers, during the course of three centuries posterior to the destruction of Jerusalem and the exclusion of the Jewish race; and (3) that Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee, was finally crowned with the honours of deification in common with the emperors, Constantine the Great himself, and the "Sons of God," peculiar to the Roman religion, at the Nicene Council.

But I have resolved to add a sketch of the full and final development of Christianity in Europe and Britain running parallel to the "Social Development of the Jewish People" (Introduction) from the Nicene Council to the present day, for the gratification of the scientific students who are unacquainted with the principles of modern historical science or the physiology of the social organism. In this manner they will be furnished with the complete evolution of the successive types of two religions—the Jewish and Christian, which sprang from Asiatic and European centres of racial and religious distribution—for the purpose of illustrating our comparative method of historical investigation.

EPILOGUE.

THE FULL AND FINAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN EUROPE AND BRITAIN FROM THE NICENE COUNCIL TO THE PRESENT DAY.

"The history of all nations of the ancient world ends in that of Rome, and that of all modern nations has grown out of Rome."—*Niebuhr.*

WILL the reader now glance at our Chronological Chart, and recall the fundamental laws of the genesis and development of social organisms? The Patriarchal, Tribal, and Monarchic phases of the Jewish nation run parallel to the Tribal (B.C. 753-540), Consular or Republican (B.C. 540 to A.D. 1), and Imperial (A.D. 1-330) periods of the Roman Empire, as well as the Tribal (A.D. 459-1066), Feudal (A.D. 1066-1530), and Protestant (A.D. 1530-1886) stages of modern Europe and Britain. And our immediate purpose is to show that Christian civilisation has arrived at the same point in its fulfilment as its Roman predecessor at the date of the Nicene Council. The reader ought to be pretty familiar with the corresponding series of religious phenomena between A.D. 1 and A.D. 325, in the Roman Empire, and the modern European and British nations from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

The first Christian nation—the Greek or Byzantine Empire and Eastern Church, founded by Constantine the Great in A.D. 330—ran its independent course contemporaneously with the communities of Europe in connection with the Western Church of divided Christendom, until the fall of Constantinople, A.D. 1453. And the

Greek Church of the Russian and Turkish Empires inherits the creed and canons of the Nicene Council, threatened with immediate annihilation — political and ecclesiastical "Nihilism." No historical student will find any difficulty in understanding the political and ecclesiastical condition of Russia, who recollects that her reformation commenced with Peter the Great, and is struggling through the storm of revolution, on the very eve of constitutional reconstruction. But although the dissemination of the new faith amongst the nations of Europe requires a special history, uniformity in the development of doctrine was preserved throughout the whole body of the "one true, holy and Catholic Church" of Christendom. For the sake of distinctness, however, let us chiefly fix our attention on the genesis and development of our own British Christianity.

1. *Tribal Period—Romish and Anglo-Saxon Christianity.* —What is the genesis and distinctive character of British Christianity during the Tribal period of our national history? The introduction of Romish Christianity under Abbot Augustine, at the instance of Gregory the Great (A.D. 597), and its subsequent propagation amongst the Anglo-Saxon tribes until the Norman Conquest, are as well attested facts as the foundation of Roma Nova by Constantine, still legible in the pages of our first ecclesiastical historian, the Venerable Baeda (A.D. 673-735), the sole chronicle which, like the Jewish "Joshua," describes the conquest of old Britannia by the Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, Danes, and Angles, as well as their conversion to the Christian faith; bristling with monkish miracles and legends; idols of Thor, Woden, Apollo, and Diana overthrown by militant missionaries; blindness and diseases cured at the tombs of the martyrs; storms

raised by raging demons quelled with "holy water;" the wood of the "holy cross" steeped in water dispelling disorders from men and cattle; scrapings of sacred parchments proving an antidote to poison; demons driven out at the touch of the linen of a virgin queen; angels' visits to King Sigebert; monks scourged by St. Peter in person —nay, a real case of resurrection on British soil!

Such was the naïve simplicity, credulity, and crude superstitions of our Venerable Baeda, the Saxon monk of Jarrow, who monopolised the professorship of a whole university of literature, philosophy, and theology; produced *The Six Ages of the World,* a commentary on the Old and New Testaments, a martyrology, etc.; reared the young successors of the apostles for the Anglo-Saxon Church of his day, and was crowned with the title of the "Father of English Literature"—we should add—"and Theology."

Dogma after dogma, practice on practice, arrived from Rome and its Christian "Papa" and "Pontifex Maximus," during the course of the following centuries. Saints, headed by the "Mother of God" (Θεότοκος), rose to heaven, like the old gods and goddesses of Greece, for prayer and adoration, in presence of their images or idols. Prayer rose for the benefit of "dead souls" sent to Purgatory, midway between heaven and hell, followed by indulgences. The "procession" of the Holy Spirit through the Son, as well as the Father, in consequence of the vote of the Nicene Council, adopted by Augustine, questioned by several of the fathers, sanctioned by the Council of Toledo (A.D. 598) by the addition of "*Filioque;*" and confirmed by the instrumentality of the British Bishop Alcuin, chaplain of Charlemagne, at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (A.D. 809), completed the Trinitarian

system in the course of eight centuries, and produced the disruption of the Eastern and Western Churches of Christendom which exists at the present day.

But the greatest theological monstrosity of the Christian Church imposed on human credulity (with the exception, perhaps, of the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls through the bodies of animals) was Transubstantiation, which grew out of the literal interpretation of the Scriptural metaphor, "This is my body" (*hoc est meum corpus*, also converted into *hocus pocus*) in the hands of the fathers, and was formulated by Paschasius Radbert, in his work *On the Body and Blood of the Lord* (*Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*), A.D. 830.

But we have no intention of sketching the growth of the complete ecclesiastical system—ritual, Prayer-Book, convocation, tithes, and monasticism of the Anglo-Saxon phase of the Anglican Church. These are the religious opinions and practices which Young England received at the hands of the "Mother of us all"—Christian Rome.

2. *The Norman, Feudal or Mediæval Period, and the Papal phase of British Christianity.*—The first two Primates of Norman England—Lanfranc and Anselm—were Italians, brought across from Normandy by William the Conqueror, who laid the foundation of our Norman phase of the Christian creed, canon law, councils, and convocations. The battle of Investitures, involving the rights and duties of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which raged throughout Europe between the Pope and princes, was fought by Anselm and William Rufus, and ended in a compromise, by leaving the power of investiture, with the ring and the crosier, the symbol of spiritual authority, in the hands of

the priesthood; and homage tendered only for the temporalities to the king.

His famous treatise, *Cur Deus Homo* ("Why did God become man?") formulated the sacrificial theory of Christian salvation, borrowed from the Hebrew, Hellenic, and Roman practice of expiation and atonement, and discussed by the fathers for ages, but which had been abolished by the "simplicity of the Gospel" (welcome message!)—Love to God and man, preached by Jesus the Jewish and Paul the Roman reformers.

Baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage were classed as seven "sacraments" by Peter Lombard, the "Master of Sentences;" and the publication of the *Summary of Universal Theology* of Alexander Hales (*d.* 1245), the "Irrefragable Doctor," contemporaneously with the *Sum of all Theology* of Thomas Aquinas (A.D. 1224-1274), the "Angelic Doctor," announced the full maturity of the dogmatic development of Anglican theology, as well as of the British ecclesiastical organism.

The Statute of Provisors and Præmunire, directed against foreign priests and Papal bulls, in A.D. 1351, gave full expression to the rising spirit of English patriotism and nationality; and the rehearsal of the Reformation enacted by Wicklif, the Lollards, and the "simple priests," in the fourteenth century, formed the prelude of our future Protestantism in the age of the "Babylonish captivity" at Avignon—Pope and anti-Pope, clashing councils, and loud demands for the "Reformation of the Church in its head and members." The statute for the burning of heretics dates from A.D. 1401; but the fires of Christian persecution, lighted by the successors of the apostles, only blazoned the striking likeness to their Roman pre-

decessors; and the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the new Church and faith throughout the length and breadth of Europe and Britain.

3. *Constitutional Period: Papal and Protestant phase of British Christianity—Old and New Faith.*—What are the salient characteristics of British Christianity from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century?[1] Beyond all question, the repetition of similar social phenomena to the period running parallel to it from Cæsar to Constantine (A.D. 1-325) in the Roman Empire, at our accession to national majority, and the renunciation of the paternal Papal pupilage to Rome; the assertion of royal supremacy in the Church as well as in the State; the formulation of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican, and the Westminster Confession and Catechism of the Scottish Churches, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; succeeded by the gradual disintegration of the ecclesiastical organisms —Papal, Prelatic, Presbyterian, and Independent—in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a word, the chronological decomposition of the Old and the reconstruction of the New faith—modern Science, exact knowledge (the interpretation and exposition of the physical and moral government of the universe), Rational Theology, and Humanitarian Ethics.

These twofold series of social phenomena must be accepted in spite of the denial of the uniformity of the fundamental laws of the genesis, evolution, and dissolution of social organisms. The feudal polity of Norman England has been supplanted by the constitutional Parlia-

[1] See "The Genesis and Development of the United States of America compared with the Rise and Progress of British and European Civilisation," in *The New Atlantis.*

ment of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, contemporaneously with the political reorganisation of the Old and New World since the renaissance and revival of learning; and the dismemberment of the "Eastern Empire" of Constantine and his successors, which fell into the hands of the Turks in A.D. 1453, is taking place before our eyes, and replaced by the resurrection of Greece and other nationalities. The "Holy Roman Empire" ended at the fiat of the modern Alaric and "scourge of God," Napoleon the Great (A.D. 1805). The "temporal authority" of the Pope, founded on the false Donations of Constantine, was swept away by Victor Emmanuel; a "free Church in a free State" displaced the Head of mediæval Christendom. Eight articles only compose the new creed of Gavazzi. A Christian republic, based on social "liberty, fraternity, and equality," has taken the place of the "eldest son of the Church and Gallican liberties;" and a greater than Constantine laid the foundations of the United States, American independence, and federal constitutionalism in the New World in A.D. 1776. New worlds, in fact, are springing up all round—in Africa, Asia, and Australasia.

Such are the undeniable political counterparts of the foundation of the Christian empires and nationalities at the destruction of the Roman Empire; and Carlyle fixes the commencement of the NEW ERA at the French Revolution:—

"In literature, too, the seeing eye will distinguish Apostles of the Gentiles, proto- and deutero-martyrs: still less will the Simon Magus or Apollonius with the golden thigh be wanting. But all is now on an infinitely wider scale: the elements of it are divine, far scattered, and still only striving towards union: whereby indeed it

happens that to the most, under the new figure, they are unrecognisable."

The actual dissolution of the old Roman religion took place between A.D. 325—the date of the Nicene Council —and the last edict of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 390 issued for the purpose of closing the temples and abolishing animal sacrifices (Gibbon, ch. xxviii.); and the same process of ecclesiastical dissolution commenced with the abolition of the old Christian Church in France, A.D. 1792; in Ireland, A.D. 1871; and forms at this moment the subject of political agitation in Scotland, England, and Germany. In both instances the periods correspond very nearly in extent.

We gladly quote the opinion of the profoundest Sociologist of the age in confirmation of our conclusions. We refer to the *Ecclesiastical Institutions* of Spencer, lately published :—

"That separation of Ecclesiastical institutions from Political institutions, foreshadowed in simple societies, when the civil ruler begins to depute occasionally his priestly function, and which in many ways, with many modifications, according to their types, societies have increasingly displayed, as they have developed—may be expected to become complete. Nowadays, indeed, apart from any such reasons as are above assigned, the completing of it, already effected in some cases, is recognised as but a question of time in other cases" (p. 823).

Who now formed the "Leaders of Religious Thought and Opinion" on the side of the old and new faith—the counterparts of the old Roman and Christian—during the same period? And the whole of Europe may be included in our survey, to illustrate the independent centres of reli-

gious distribution frequently referred to in the preceding pages.

The poets and philosophers of Europe and Britain who renounced the old faith of Christendom corresponded to their prototypes in Rome, Athens, and Alexandria. We refer to such leading "representative men" as the Italian Dante, Cardan, Campanella, Bruno, Vanini; Descartes, the "Father of Philosophy," Voltaire, Rousseau, Comte, and Renan, in France; Erasmus and Spinoza, in Holland; Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Lessing, Goethe, and Strauss, in Germany; Bacon, Shakespeare, Hobbes, Locke, Milton, Gibbon, Pope, Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Spencer, and Seeley, in England; Hume, Burns, Mill, and Carlyle, in Scotland; as well as Emerson, Longfellow, and Freeman Clarke, in the New World.

Baronius, Bossuet, Fénélon, Döllinger, Newman, of the Romish; Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Knox, Owen, Wesley, Chalmers, Maurice, Kingsley, and Stanley, of the Reformed; the Socini, the Deists, the Cambridge Arians and Latitudinarians, Martineau, Edwards, Channing, Emerson, the Preacher of the Theistic faith—are the religious representatives of the old and new faiths, the antitypes of the defenders of Roman religion, and the "fathers" of Galilean, Jewish, Alexandrian, and Oriental Christianity.

Such historical parallels are frequently alluded to in modern literature; but no connected and comprehensive estimate of the united services of the "fathers" of modern faith and philosophy has yet been made, and we can do little more than refer to them on the present occasion.

Look first at the services performed by the religious Reformers in the sixteenth century—What really is the

sum-total of their religious Reformation? The rejection of saint worship, sacred images, crosses, and crucifixes, purgatory, extreme unction, and transubstantiation, retained under the form of "consubstantiation" by Martin Luther, with the translation of the Sacred Scriptures into our modern languages—a goodly list of "delusions" brought in from the old faiths of Rome and Greece. But one-half of the population of Europe still cross themselves with "holy water;" swallow "the body, blood, bones, and divinity" of a "bloodless sacrifice" (which no old Roman was guilty of), and pay adoration with as great reverence to Christian "heroes" as their predecessors in the age of M. Aurelius, in the Romish temples of to-day. Most assuredly, then, these are like the hereditary worshippers of the gods and heroes of the old Roman Empire; and the Protestant offspring of them may be likened to the Galilean, Jewish, Alexandrian, and Oriental Christians who met together in their own "synagogues" and societies to worship God, according to their peculiar faith and customs.

But the history of dogmatic decomposition from the *Confessio Fidei* of the Council of Trent, the *Inquisitio de Fide* and restoration of Monarchianism by Erasmus, "the father of rational theology" (according to Gibbon), Spinoza's theological treatise, the foundation of "Biblical Criticism," to Newman's *Phases of Faith*, Mill's *Essays on Nature*, and Seeley on *Natural Religion*, Newman's *Apologia pro suâ vitâ*, Renan's *Recollections of my Youth*, Spencer's *Ultimate Principles, and the Unknowable*, Matthew Arnold's *Anarchy and Religion*, and Harrison's *Ghost of Religion*, must be left to some scientific and exact expositor of the evolution of religious thought and opinion.

Our modern Lactantius is Dean Stanley, who distilled the quintessence of Christianity from the crumbling creeds of Christendom (see page 354). But the gigantic labours of a lifetime were spent in boring and mining the superincumbent strata and deposits of past millenniums of Hebrew and Christian theology before he attained to the sweetness and light, culture and kindliness (kind-likeness) of divine and human nature. The "Broad Church" clergy follow at a safe distance, and the rank and file of working curates and vicars will probably halt in their theological mines for centuries to come.

Starting late, as did the Russian Reformation, under the auspices of Peter the Great, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, three-fourths of her population now belong to the ranks of the Raskolniks (Dissenters). Social and religious "Nihilism," in fact, go hand in hand, and the terrible repression of political discussion, free thought, and censorship of the press must inevitably close with the same "revolution" and "toleration" accomplished by ourselves in 1688, under the leadership of the Russian Cromwells, Hampdens, Lockes, and Miltons.

Viewed in this light, *Christ's Christianity*, by the eminent reformer, Count Tolstoi, merits special attention; and as the Nicene Creed, recited in her daily prayers, forms the basis of the Greek Church, we have no doubt whatever that the true history of its origin, growth, and composition will lead to the latest phase of the New Faith in the Eastern Church at a very early date.

Look now at the services which our modern Poets and Philosophers have performed during the same period. The very same type and class of human genius who renounced the hereditary creeds of Rome followed in their footsteps in modern Europe and Britain, and dis-

seminated the doctrines of pure Theism and Humanitarian Ethics—faith in the supreme God and the Supreme Good.

"In the resurrection of Science, Italy was the first that cast away her shroud," is the language of Gibbon. And the Titanic forces of Cardan, Campanella, Bruno, and Vanini, at least, dragged the ancient stores of classic literature from their dusty sepulchres at the dawn of European civilisation. The real fathers of modern Science—physical and psychological, as well as ethical and theological—were Bacon and Descartes—mutually complementary, and should be studied together. *The Advancement of Science*—the great Restoration—the *New Method* (*Organon*) were given by Bacon; and the *Discourse on Method* and *Meditations on the First Philosophy* —the search after truth by natural light—were offered by Descartes. "The history of nature and experience should be composed with the most religious and sacred regard to truth in all particulars as being the volume of God's works, and, with due reverence to divine revelation, a *second Scripture*," is Bacon's announcement. "Man is the minister and interpreter of nature, and his knowledge depends upon the extent of his observation of the constitution and order of nature as well as of mind; and any further sources of information or utility are beyond the limits of the human understanding"—restricted the inquiries of philosophers to our own world,—a method which has been followed by the unparalleled discoveries of the whole hierarchy of the modern Sciences. And Descartes' is like to it:—

"The search of truth by natural light alone, and without the aid of religion and philosophy, determines the opinions which an honest man ought to hold on everything—the objects of all his thoughts, and penetrates

the secrets of the profoundest sciences—the science, too, which is necessary for the regulation of life."

The laws of the human mind were reduced to sensation and reflection by John Locke; and the simplicity of the Gospel was restored in the *Reasonableness of Christianity,* in accordance with the views (details excepted) of the present volume.

The *Christian Doctrine* of John Milton carried the world back to *Paradise Regained,* within the kingdom of the human soul—the everlasting kingdom and reign of human benevolence and goodwill to all mankind. If we may rely on the genuineness of the *Christian Doctrine,* discovered in the State Office, and translated by Archbishop Sumner (1825), Milton belonged to the theological school of Eusebius and Arius, for he expressly asserts that the Son is "not co-eval or co-essential with the Father."

To Hume we owe the *Natural History of Religion;* and Immanuel Kant woke from his intellectual slumber on studying his essays; stripped the old words—God, Soul, and Immortality—of their hereditary draperies, and compelled the world to accept the divine laws of nature and human nature in their stead in the *Critique of Pure Reason.*

The fundamental separation of the theological and political systems, which had been united since the foundation of the first Christian Empire by Constantine the Great, was announced with the utmost precision by Jean Jacques Rousseau, of Geneva, in his *Social Contract* (*Contrat Social*): "Religion, considered in relation to society which is general or particular, can be divided into two species, viz. the religion of man, and that of the citizen. The former, without temples, without altars, without rites, limited to the purely internal worship of the supreme

God and the eternal duties of morals, is the pure and simple religion of the Gospel—true Theism, and which may be called natural divine right; the latter peculiar to a single country, gives gods to it—its own tutelary patrons; its dogmas, rites, and external worship is prescribed by the laws; all outside the nation which follows it is infidel, foreign, barbarous: the rights and duties of man extend only as far as its altars. Such were all the religions of the early peoples, to which may be given the name of civil or positive divine right" (*Con. Soc.* iv. 8).

Lessing taught us to regard the literature of the Jews and Christians as mere "primers" and "introductions" employed in the course of the education of mankind (*Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*), and to draw the distinction between the "religion of Christ" and the Christian religion.

The systematic order and hierarchy of the modern Sciences came from the organising mind of Auguste Comte; Synthetic philosophy from Spencer, crowned with *Ultimate Principles, and the Unknowable;* and the eyes of men were turned to the *Bible of Universal History* —the eternal Bible, and God's book—by Thomas Carlyle: "To each its believed history is its Bible, not in Judæa alone, or Hellas, or Latium alone, but in all lands and all times."

Thousands of echoes reverberate through the social heavens, from every land on the face of the earth; but the voice of the great transcendentalist of the New World rises above them all, and invites his disciples to worship the "nameless Thought"—the nameless and the super-personal Heart of hearts of universal being. "Nothing can exceed the anarchy that has followed in our skies. The stern old faiths have all pulverised. 'Tis a whole

population of ladies and gentlemen out in search of religions. 'Tis as flat anarchy in our ecclesiastical realms as that which existed in Massachusetts on the Revolution, or which prevails now on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains or Pike's Peak. Yet we make shift to live. Men are loyal." And the first sketch of the *Ten Great Religions*, by Freeman Clarke, forms only the prelude of the universal religion and theology characteristic of the New World, composed of a social fusion of all the races of mankind.

The great majority of the poetic Seers of Europe and Britain who enjoyed "the vision and faculty divine," and set their age to music, "touched a jarring lyre at first;" but their successors struck their harps to clearer tones as we travel down the centuries from Dante, the "morning star" of song, to Goethe, Tennyson, and Longfellow—

> "And Freedom reared in that august sun-rise
> Her beautiful bold brow,
> When rites and forms, before her burning eyes,
> Melted like snow."

The dark and dismal road through *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* under the guidance of Virgil, his "master of song," and Beatrice, on his way to the "beatific vision" on the summit of *Paradiso*, betray the religious revolt against the old "Papa" of ancient Christendom.

The social amenities and mutual chivalry exhibited in the crusading scenes of Tasso rather leave the impression that Jerusalem was delivered from the curse of Christendom, than the Holy Sepulchre from the shadow of the Moslem Crescent.

When the bard of Avon gauged the mystery of life in the revolutionary age of the Protestant Reformation,

crowded with *dramatis personæ* from the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Danish, and British races, the only clear oracle uttered by that profound analyst of human nature, was—

> "There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will."

The very soul and substance of modern Agnosticism were sung in numbers and language paraphrasing the philosophical aphorism of Lord Bacon by Pope, in his *Essay on Man*:—

> "Say, first of God above and man below,
> What can we reason but from what we know?
> Of man what see we but his station here,
> From which to reason, or to which refer;
> Through worlds unnumber'd, though the God be known,
> 'Tis ours to trace him only in our own.
> . . . . . .
> Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
> The proper study of mankind is man."

And the struggle of existence was resolved into harmony with the general order and moral law of the universe:—

> "Account for moral as for nat'ral things;
> Why charge we heav'n in those, in these acquit?
> In both to reason right, is to submit.
> Better for us, perhaps, it might appear,
> Were there all harmony, all virtue here:
> That never air or ocean felt the wind;
> That never passion discompos'd the mind.
> But all subsists by elemental strife;
> And passions are the elements of life.
> The gen'ral order, since the whole began,
> Is kept in nature, and is kept in man."

The volcanic soul of the great French Encyclopædist exploded the political and ecclesiastical superstition of the *ancien régime* in his startling life-pictures of *Brutus*

and Liberty. The Fire-Worshippers, or Toleration; Fanaticism, or Mahomet, far "surpassed Luther and Calvin" (Béranger) in his successive reforms, and proclaimed the new faith of social education and religious toleration:—

> "Ils auraient du l'instruire et non la condamner
> Quils jouissent en paix de leurs droits et leurs biens,
> Quils adorent leur Dieu, mais sans blesser les miens."

And the brilliant soul of his successor, the poetic and dramatic Titan—Victor Hugo—the very spirit of the French Revolution and the new era, sits for ever, with his *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations,* in the centre of the electric fulminations and radiant sunshine of the *Religions and Legends of the Ages.*

The first expanding soul who burst the fetters of petty religious nationalism, and pointed to the "lights of the world" who shone as lode-stars in the social firmament of universal humanity, was the ethereal Shelley.

> "The Good and Mighty of departed ages
> Are in their graves, the innocent and free—
> Heroes and poets, and prevailing sages,
> Who leave the vesture of their majesty
> To adorn and clothe this naked world; and we
> Are like to them: such perish, but they leave
> All hope, or love, or truth, or liberty,
> Whose forms their mighty spirits could conceive,
> To be a rule and law to ages that survive."

Simultaneous illumination sprang from the centre of the old Saxon environment in Lessing's far-sighted and comprehensive *Education of the Human Race;* the line of distinction was carefully drawn between the "religion of Christ" and the Christian religion loaded with the traditions of eighteen centuries of development and declension; and the descendants of Martin Luther listened

with applause to the genial tones of universal benevolence from the lips of *Nathan the Wise*—"Jew and Christian, and Mussulman and Parsi are all alike to him."

Had our design admitted, nothing would have been easier than to have traced the development of Schiller's opinions with the assistance of his poems, dramas, and histories. The slightest comparison of the parody on popular preaching, put into the mouth of fiery Dominic in *The Robbers*, with the "frightful images" of God stamped on the tender brain of the young Prince during the course of his "servile and bigoted education" in the "Enchanted Castle," must be accepted as a graphic description of his own experience. Accordingly we present the following quotation from his *Geister-Seher* as the most candid "Confession of Faith" emitted by any seer of modern times:—

"'What has already happened to me, and what may still follow, I look upon as two black, impenetrable curtains hanging over the extremities of human life, and which no mortal has ever yet drawn aside. Many hundred generations have stood before the second of these curtains, casting the light of their torches upon its folds, speculating and guessing as to what it may conceal. Many have beheld themselves, in the magnified image of their passions, reflected upon the curtain which hides futurity from their gaze, and have turned away shuddering from their own shadows. Poets, philosophers, and statesmen have painted their fancies on the curtain, in brighter or more sombre colours, according as their own prospects were bright or gloomy. Many a juggler has also taken advantage of the universal curiosity, and, by well-managed deceptions, led astray the excited imagination. A deep silence reigns behind this curtain; no one who passes

beyond it answers any questions: all the reply is an empty *echo,* like the sound yielded by a vault. Sooner or later all must go behind this curtain, and they approach it with fear and trembling, in doubt who may be waiting there behind to receive them; *quid sit id, quod tantum morituri vident.* There have been infidels who asserted that this curtain only deluded mankind, and that we saw nothing behind it, because there was nothing there to see; but, to convince them, they were quickly sent behind it themselves.'

"'It was indeed a rash conclusion, said I, if they had no better ground than that they saw nothing themselves.'

"'You see, my dear friend, I am modest enough not to wish to look behind this curtain, and the wisest course will doubtless be to abstain from all curiosity. But while I draw the impassable circle around me, and confine myself *within the bounds of Present Existence,* this small point of time, which I was in danger of neglecting in useless researches, becomes the more important to me. What you call the *chief* end and aim of my existence concerns me no longer. I cannot escape my destiny. I cannot promote its consummation; but I know and firmly believe that *I am here to accomplish some end, and that I do accomplish it.* But the means which nature has taken to fulfil my destiny are so much the more sacred to me —to me it is everything, my Morality, my Happiness. All the rest I shall never learn. I am like a messenger who carries a sealed letter to its place of destination. What the letter contains is indifferent to him; his business is only to earn his fee for carrying it.'"

Nothing less than a volume would suffice for the purpose of exhibiting the literary treasures of Goethe, the

profound seer and scientist of the German fatherland. To him we owe the discovery of the Types of Universal Organisms, the modern science of Morphology, but above all, *Faust*, the type of all mental, moral, religious, and social development, brilliantly illustrated by the *Wandel Lehr*, and *Meister Jahre* of *Wilhelm Meister*, as well as in his own *Wahrheit und Dichtung*. Renunciation (*Entsagung*) of all animalism, self-culture, and self-government is the beginning, middle, and end of all his literary efforts. Witness the conclusion of Wilhelm Meister's education, and the revelations of a "Schöne Seele," or Beautiful Soul.

No more beautiful and dramatic expression has ever been given to the pure and unadulterated religion of the deep heart of humanity, which blends two souls in the everlasting union and communion of divine and immortal love, than in the following conversation:—

"*G.* How is it with religion in your mind?
You are, 'tis true, a good, kind-hearted man;
But, I'm afraid, not piously inclined.
F. Forbear! I love you, darling, you alone!
For those I love my life I would lay down,
And none would of their faith or church bereave.
G. That's not enough; we must ourselves believe.
F. Must we?
G. Ah! could I but your soul inspire!
You honour not the Sacraments, alas!
F. I honour them.
G. But yet without desire.
'Tis long since you have been to shrift or mass.
Do you believe in God?
F. My love, forbear!
Who dares acknowledge, 'I in God believe'?
Ask priest or sage, the answer you receive
Seems but a mockery to the question.

G. Then do you not believe?
F. Sweet one! My meaning do not misconceive;
Him who dare name, and yet proclaim,
'Yes, I believe'?
Who that can feel, his heart can steel
To say, 'I do believe'?
The all-embracer, all-sustainer,
Doth he not embrace, sustain thee, me, himself?
Lifts not the heaven its dome above?
Doth not the firmest earth beneath us lie?
And leaning tenderly with looks of love,
Climb not the everlasting stars on high?
Are we not gazing in each other's eyes?
Nature's impenetrable agencies,
Are they not thronging on thy heart and brain,
Viewless or visible to mortal ken,
Around thee weaving their mysterious reign?
Fill then thy heart, how large soe'er it be;
And in the feeling, when thou 'rt wholly blest,
Then call it what thou wilt—Bliss! Heart! Love! God!—
I have no name for it—'tis feeling all.
Name is but sound and smoke,
Shrouding the glow of heaven.
G. All this is doubtless beautiful and true;
The priest doth also much the same declare—
Only in somewhat different language too.
F. Beneath heaven's genial sunshine everywhere,
This is the utterance of the human heart;
Each in his language doth the like impart;
Then why not I in mine?"

"I have nothing to say to any one as to which sect he belongs to, or what creed he believes; but I look on the man who is firmly persuaded of infinite wisdom and goodness, superintending and directing every circumstance that can happen in his lot. I felicitate such a man, as having a solid foundation for his mental enjoyment; a firm prop and sure stay in the hour of difficulty, trouble,

and distress; and a never-failing anchor of hope when he looks beyond the grave"—is the candid confession of Robert Burns at the close of his chequered career.

Tennyson, our British Laureate, summed up the Science and "Spirit of the Age" in his mystic poems and lovely Idylls—specially crystallised in man, the microcosm and type of earth and time, found in *In Memoriam*:—

"Contemplate all this work of Time,
The giant labouring in his youth;
Nor dream of human love and truth,
As dying Nature's earth and lime.

But trust that those we call the dead
Are breathers of an ampler day
For ever nobler ends. They say,
The solid earth whereon we tread

In tracts of fluent heat began,
And grew to seeming-random forms,
The seeming prey of cyclic storms,
Till at the last arose the man;

Who throve and branch'd from clime to clime,
The herald of a higher race,
And of himself in higher place,
If so he *type this work of time*

Within himself from more to more;
Or, crown'd with attributes of woe,
Like glories, move his course, and show
That life is not as idle ore,

But iron dug from central gloom,
And heated hot with burning fears,
And dipt in baths of hissing tears,
And batter'd with the shocks of doom

To shape and use. Arise and fly
The reeling faun, the sensual feast;
Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die."

Whatever was the idealising tone of Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Sonnets," the prophetic voice of the "High Priest of Nature, and Nature's God," is worthy of all acceptation :—

> "Trust me that, for the instructed, time will come
> When they shall meet no object but may teach
> Some acceptable lesson to their minds
> Of human suffering or of human joy.
> So shall they learn, while all things speak of Man,
> Their duties from all forms : and general laws,
> And local accidents, shall tend alike
> To rouse, to urge ; and with the will confer
> The ability to spread the blessings wide
> Of true philanthropy."

And the "Songs of Sunrise" springing from the New World at the close of the springtide of their national life (A.D. 1492-1892), ring true to the spirit of Christian Cosmopolitanism with "God o'erhead," characteristic of the vast social amalgamation of all the races on the face of the earth.

> "Lives of Great Men all remind us
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And, departing, leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time :
>
> Footprints that perhaps another,
> Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
> A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
> Seeing, may take heart again.
>
> Let us, then, be up and doing,
> With a heart for any fate :
> Still achieving, still pursuing,
> Learn to labour and to wait."

We have thus indicated the service performed by the representatives of poetic, philosophic, and religious genius in the formation of the New Faith of modern Europe, Britain, and the New World. The great majority of critics and historians have expatiated on the beauties of poetry, and the psychological dissection of the materialistic, idealistic, and sceptical theories of science, philosophy, and theology, and paid little or no attention to the ethical and theological reformation accomplished by their teaching and influence. We trust that the institution of our Historical Comparison will at least form a precedent to future students.

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The Christ and the fathers; or The reformers of the Roman Empire; with a brief sketch of the continuation of Christianity until the present day, in accordance with the comparative method of historical science, by a historical scientist. London, Williams and Norgate, 1887.
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